

THE ORIGINS OF THE SAFAWIDS

Shi'ism, Sufism and the Ghulat

Michel Mazzaoui

FREIBURGER ISLAMSTUDIEN · BAND III

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BY

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FRANZ STEINER VERLAG GMBH · WIESBADEN

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herausgegeben von
HANS ROBERT ROEMER

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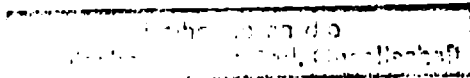
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To *Ustād-i kāmil*
M. B. D.

مَنْ عَلَّمَنِي حَرْفًا كُنْتُ لَهُ عَبْدًا

PREFACE

The present study has been undertaken to satisfy the need for an examination of the religious situation in the central areas of the Muslim world following the Mongol conquest in the thirteenth century, and in part to explain and account for the rise of the Ši'i Šafawid state in Irān towards the close of the fifteenth. Only two major aspects of this immensely large subject have been dealt with here, namely *īnā'āšari* Ši'ism which became the established form of Islam in Irān ca. 1500, and the Sūfi order of Ardabil whose founder was the eponymous ancestor of the Šafawids.

The sources used in the preparation of this study – religious treatises, polemical compositions, hagiographical works, biographical material, and chronicles – contain a wealth of information whose significance and importance for the religious and social history of the post-Mongol Muslim world are immeasurable. A proper understanding of this history and a thorough evaluation of the religious problems involved are vital for a better appreciation of the social conditions in the Middle East during the later Middle Ages. For soon after the establishment of Ši'ism in Irān and the rise of the Šafawids, the entire Middle East extending from the Ottoman and Mamlūk empires in the west and passing through the domains of the Šafawids, Uzbeks, and Muğāls in the east, became gradually involved in a struggle for survival with the rising national states of Europe – a struggle which led ultimately to the political weakening and final subjugation of the whole area by European powers.

There is much yet to be learned from a study of the backgrounds during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. For this period constitutes the crucial link in the Muslim world between late medieval and early modern times. The aim of the present study, therefore, is to clarify and explain certain religious and social issues during this period, and to contribute to a more fundamental understanding of the complicated history of the Muslim world between the Mongols and the Šafawids.

Under its original title, *Ši'ism and the Rise of the Šafavids*, this work was submitted in August 1965 to the Faculty of the Department of Oriental Studies (now Department of Near Eastern Studies) of Princeton University, Princeton, N. J., USA, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Oriental Studies. The thesis was successfully defended in February 1966. Xerox or microfilm copies of the original dissertation have been available from University Microfilms, Inc., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. For the present publication, the original work has been revised, corrected, and updated; the argument, however, has essentially remained unchanged.

This work owes much to the stimulating discussions which the author had over the years with his teacher and friend Martin B. Dickson of the Department of Near Eastern Studies at Princeton University. Other members of this Department, past and present, as well as professors and friends in Irān especially at Teheran University and elsewhere, contributed in various ways to the development in the author's mind of the thesis here presented. To all these persons I am deeply grateful.

I would also like to express a vote of thanks to the directors of the Fulbright Program for granting me a two-year fellowship to carry out research related to this general topic in Irān between 1967 and 1969. The Council on International and Regional Studies of Princeton Uni-

versity granted me a summer stipend in 1970 to prepare the final draft of the manuscript for the press. For this, too, I am thankful.

Most of all, however, it is to the members of the Department of Near Eastern Studies at Princeton and its Chairman, Professor L. C. Brown, that I owe the final decision to see the present work into print. A generous grant by this Department made this undertaking possible, and for this I would like to thank all my colleagues. For assistance of a highly technical nature over long, sometimes tedious, but always pleasant hours, my special thanks go to my two students and friends at Princeton, Fred Donner and Elizabeth Heilmann Donner, who helped me in the proof-reading and in the preparation of the indices, as well as in many suggestions along the way.

Finally, I would like to thank Professor Dr. Hans R. Roemer, Director of the Orientalisches Seminar der Universität Freiburg, for his continued interest in my work and for accepting it to be published in the *Freiburger Islamstudien* series.

Princeton University
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Michel M. Mazzaoui

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CHAPTER I

GENERAL SCOPE

When Šāh Ismā'il acceded to power in Tabriz in the year 907/1501¹ and issued his order that henceforward the call to prayer from the minaret should be "I profess that there is no God but Allāh, that Muḥammad is the prophet of Allāh, and that 'Alī is the *walī* of Allāh,"² a celebrated Persian historian as he chronicled the event remarked that this call to prayer according to the rite of *ifnā'aṣari* *šī'ism*³ had never been heard for five hundred and twenty-eight years in the lands of Islam⁴.

¹ The Hīḡra year 907 begins on July 17, 1501. Rūmlū's *Aḥsan al-tawārīḥ*, Ḡaṣṣārī's *Tārīḥ-i ḡahān-drā*, Qazwīnī's *Lubb al-tawārīḥ*, and Iskandar Munšī's *Tārīḥ-i 'ālam-drā-yi 'Abbāsi*, all agree the *ḡulūs* (accession) of Šāh Ismā'il took place in Tabriz immediately after the battle of Šurūr which occurred early in the year 907/1501. Ḥwāndamīr's *Ḥabīb as-siyar* alone speaks of a *ḡulūs* in 906: در روزی که داخل سنه ست و تسعماله . . .

. . . (Ḥabīb as-siyar, IV, 467). See *Aḥsan al-tawārīḥ*, II, 227, n. 3. On each of the chronicles listed here see now DICKSON, *Shāh Tahmāsb and the Usbehs*, Appendix II, "Sources and Bibliography", pp. xlv-lxiii. My attention to the correct dating of Šāh Ismā'il's accession has been drawn by Professor H. R. Roemer of Freiburg. Since then I have also received "notes" from both Mr. Roemer and Erika Glassen which I have incorporated in this work, and for which I would like to express my gratitude. For a definitive view on this point see now GLASSEN, *Die frühen Safawiden nach Qāṣi Aḥmad Qumī*, Freiburg i. Br., 1968, p. 85, n. 3.

² أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَأَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ [وَأَنَّ عَلِيًّا وَلِيُّ أَق] . . . حَتَّى عَلَى الصَّلَاةِ . . . [حَتَّى عَلَى خَيْرِ الْمَسَلِ]. (bracketed are *šī'i* "additions" to the *aḡḡān*). On this *šī'i* formula see Th. W. JUVNBOLL, "Adhān" in *E. I.*, first edition (article reproduced verbatim in *E. I.*, new edition), and Ḡa'far ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ḥillī (602-676/1205-1277), *Kitāb Sarā'i' al-Islām* (GAL, I, 514, and *Suppl.*, I, 711), translated by A. QUERRY: *Droit Musulman* . . . (Paris, 1871), I, 67; and by the same Ḥillī author, *al-Muḥtaṣar an-nāfi' fi fiqh al-Imāmiya*, 2nd ed., Cairo, 1377/1957, p. 52 and footnotes on the same page, for the number of prescribed repetitions of the formula. As regards the *šī'i aḡḡān* JUVNBOLL observes, "These words have at all times been the shibboleth of the Shī'ites; when called out from the minarets in an orthodox country, the inhabitants knew the government had become Shī'ite".

³ Followers of the Twelve Imams on whom see D. M. DONALDSON, *The Shī'ite Religion: A History of Islam in Persia and Iraq*, London, Luzac, 1933 (which is now quite outdated), and Sams ad-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-A'imma al-ifnā'aṣar*, ed. Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn AL-MUNAḤḤID, Beirut, 1958 (which is rather brief). In this work, as indeed in all works on Muslim sects, the terms used indiscriminately for the *ifnā'aṣari* *šī'is* shall be: *imāmis*, *Ḡa'faris*, *ifnā'aṣaris*, and Twelvers. For an attempt by a modern leading *šī'i* scholar to differentiate between some of these terms and their connotations see Muḥsin al-Amin, *A'yān aṣ-Šī'a*, v. I, pt. 1, pp. 10-20, where the author discusses such terms as *aṣ-Šī'a*, *al-imāmiya*, *al-Matāwila*, *Qizlbaš*, *ar-rāfiḡa*, *al-Ḡa'farīya*, and *al-ḡāṣṣa*. It was never clear what each term exactly connoted. The following from Ibn al-Aṡīr (*al-Kāmil*, Cairo ed., 1303/1885, VIII, 42) on the death of aṡ-Ṭabarī, the famous historian, who was accused of *rafiḡ*, is illuminating:

وَذَكَرَ وَفَاةَ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ جَرِيرٍ الطَّبْرِيِّ (سنة ٣٠١): وَدُفِنَ لَيْلًا بَدَارُهُ لِأَنَّ الْمَائِمَةَ اجْتَمَعَتْ وَبُنِعَتْ مِنْ دَفْنِهِ نَهَارًا وَادْعُوا عَلَيْهِ الرَّفْضَ ثُمَّ ادْعُوا عَلَيْهِ الْإِلْحَادَ. وَكَانَ عَلِيُّ بْنُ هِشَمٍ (vizīr to al-Muqtadir, d. 320/932) يَقُولُ «وَأَقَّةٌ لَوْ سُئِلَ هَؤُلَاءُ عَنْ مَعْنَى الرَّفْضِ

وَالْإِلْحَادُ مَا عَرَفُوهُ وَلَا فَهِمُوهُ . . . »

See reference and translation of this in BROWNE, *LHP*, I, 360-61.

⁴ Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tawārīḥ*, I, 61:

هم در اوایل جلوس امر کرد که خطبای نماز خطبه ائمه اثنی عشر علیهم صلوات الله الملك الاکبر خوانند « أَشْهَدُ أَنْ عَلِيًّا وَلِيُّ اللَّهِ وَحَتَّى

The historian in question, Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, the author of *Aḥsan al-tawārīḥ*¹, refers to the historical incident when Tuğrul Bey of the Great Selğūqs put an end in 452/1060 to the rebellion in Bagdād of the Turkish general Ḥasan al-Basāsīrī who staged a military coup against the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Qā'im, drove him out of Bagdād and declared his allegiance to the Fāṭimid al-Mustansīr². But the total of 528 years which Ḥasan-i Rūmlū gives cannot be reconciled to the date of this event. Further, during the period between al-Basāsīrī and Šāh Ismā'īl, Šī'ī movements continued to exist in the Muslim world. The Šī'ī Fāṭimids persisted in Egypt until Šalāḥ ad-Dīn the Ayyūbid sultān put an end to them more than a century after the Basāsīrī incident in 567/1171³. Moreover, successors to the Fāṭimid *da'wa* continued their activities in "the lands of Islam" until the arrival of the Mongols⁴. Their activity following the Mongol onslaught has yet to be investigated fully⁵.

However, the exact total number of years of Šī'ī inactivity is perhaps not the most important thing to determine. What is infinitely more important is the fact that when Šī'ism was established in Irān towards the end of the fifteenth century it was a novel thing – so novel in fact that our historian had to do some calculations in order to determine when he had heard or read about it last.

عل خیر ائمل که از آمدن سلطان طغرل یک بن میکائیل بن سلجوق فرار نمودن بسایری که از آن تاریخ تا سته مذکوره بانصد و بیست و هشت سال است از بلاد اسلام بر طرف شده بود با اذان ضم کرده بگویند.

FALSAFI in *Zandigāni-yi Šāh 'Abbās-i Awwal*, I, 167, quotes a similar statement from a MS. of Qāḍī Aḥmad Gaṣṣārī's *Tārīḥ-i ḡahān-ārā*:

... مقرر شد که کلمه طیبہ «أَشْهَدُ أَنْ عَلِيًّا وَلِيَّ اللَّهِ وَحَيَّ عَلَى خَيْرِ أَعْمَلٍ» بتجویز علمای مذهب امامیه برغم ستیان بدگهر داخل اذان نمایند.

(FALSAFI, however, is wrong in ascribing the *Tārīḥ-i ḡahān-ārā* to Mullā Abū Bakr Ṭīhrānī: منسوب به: ...)

Hasan-i Rūmlū was the grandson of Amīr Sultān Rūmlū, a high dignitary of the courts of Šāh Ismā'īl and Šāh Ṭahmāsb; and his chronicle, *Aḥsan al-tawārīḥ*, was completed in 980/1572. See SEDDON, "Ḥasan-i Rūmlū's *Aḥsan al-Tawārīḥ*," JRAS (1927), 307-313; and DICKSON, *loc. cit.*, Appendix II, "Sources and Bibliography", xlvii.

¹ On the Basāsīrī incident see Ibn al-Aṭṭār, *al-Kāmil*, (ed. C. J. TORNBURG, Brill, 1863), IX, 430-448; *Aḥsan al-tawārīḥ*, II, 227, n. 4; and M. CANARD, "al-Basāsīrī (Abū al-Ḥārith Arslān al-Muḥaffar)", in *E. I.*, new edition.

² PROCKELMANN, *History of the Islamic Peoples*, 225.

³ I. e., the destruction of Alamūt in 1256.

⁴ On the post-Mongol activity of the Assassins see for example, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Rihla*, Beirut ed., 76 ff. (GIBB's translation, I, 106 ff.); BROWNE, *LHP*, III, 25 and 197; and IVANOW, "An Ismailitic work by Nasīr al-dīn al-Ṭūsī", JRAS (1931), 527-564, subsequently published in book form as *Taṣawwūrāt or Rauḍāt al-taṣīf*, (Leiden 1950), with text, translation, and a long valuable introduction in which he makes the following interesting observation quite relevant to the main theme of this work: "The rapid spread of Shī'ism after the Mongol invasion and the destruction of the political power of the Ismailis may perhaps be attributed to a large extent to the drifting of the persecuted Ismaili communities under the shelter of the kindred sect (i. e. the *Iṣnā'asharis*) which gained influence at that time." *Op. cit.*, 529, n. 1. 'Azzāwī in his *Tārīḥ*, Volume I, 153, goes further and states:

«و منهم (ای اسمعیلیه الموت) اشتقت عقائد غلاة الصوف والحرقية والدروز والآغاخانية والكشفية والبايئة والبهائية في أزمته مختلفة وأشكال متنوعة».

Ḥasan-i Rūmlū no doubt knew his *šī'i* history well; and in fact the apparent discrepancy in the number of years can plausibly be explained¹. For the political history of *šī'ism*, from the appearance of the first "political party" in Islam during the lifetime of the Prophet (*šī'al 'Alī*) to the establishment of *īḡnā'ašarī šī'ism* in Irān under Šāh Ismā'il nine centuries later, constitutes one of the longest and most fascinating chapters in the history of Islam. Guided by their legitimist claims, the *šī'is* of Islam under a series of honest and at times opportunistic leaders continued the unending struggle to assert themselves and establish what to them was the legitimate state of affairs.

They had a long history of success and failure – more of the latter than the former. Muslim history is full of *šī'i* adventurers who never could quite seize the all-important caliphate from the *sunni* leadership and establish their form of rule by *imāmate*. But the successes were memorable: the Zaidī state in Ṭabāristān; the 'Alid dynasties in Morocco and Yemen; the Ismā'īlī state of the Fātimids in Egypt; the *šī'i* leanings of the Buwaihids in Baġdād; the movement of Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ and his followers – these are only a few of the successes². At one time, in fact, the eighth *šī'i* imām, 'Alī ar-Riḡā, was appointed heir to the caliphate by the 'Abbāsīd al-Ma'mūn in 201/816³. The struggle however continued until with the coming of the Mongols and the fall of Baġdād in 1258 the caliphate was no more, and all semblance of an organized struggle on the part of *šī'ism* ended.

But *šī'ism* in its various manifestations – *īḡnā'ašarī* twelvers, *ismā'īlī* seveners, and *ġulāt* extremists – never really disappeared. The *īḡnā'ašarīs* in fact made an early bid for power and influence as soon as the Mongol Ilḡānids established themselves in Irān; and under the effective leadership of the leading *īḡnā'ašarī* scholar of the time, Ibn al-Muṭaḥḥar al-Ḥilli, they actually succeeded in winning Sulṭān Ulġaitū Ḥudābanda to their views. For a decade or so early in the 8th/14th century Twelver *šī'ism* was the "official" religion of the Mongol lands. In the next generation, another leading *īḡnā'ašarī* scholar, Muḥammad ibn Makkī al-'Āmilī, suffered a terrible end at the close of the fourteenth century on account of certain relations and correspondence he had with the Sarbadārs, a *šī'i* post-Mongol successor state in eastern Irān. A third *īḡnā'ašarī* scholar, Ibn Fahd al-Ḥilli, was active early in the fifteenth century during the Ġalāyir-Qara-qoyunlu period when again he succeeded in winning over one of the Turkmān chiefs to *šī'i* orthodoxy.

On the other hand, the Ismā'īlī *šī'is* – under the new appellation of *fidā'is* – became, long after the destruction of their fortresses, the fearful arm of the Mamlūks; and their activities, at one time at least, were the subject of one of the terms of a Mamlūk-Mongol peace treaty during the reign of the last Ilḡānid Sulṭān Abū Sa'id⁴.

As for the extremist *ġulāt*, the fifteenth century was their hey-day: from Anatolia to Māwarā'annahr their folk Islamic views permeated every Šūfi order and every popular *šī'i* movement. The revolt of Šaiḡ Badr ad-Dīn in Anatolia, the Sarbadār state in Ḥurāsān, and the Muša'ša' dynasty in lower Iraq are only a few examples⁵.

Ḥasan-i Rūmlū was satisfied with making the remark on the rise of the new *šī'i* state in Irān and the mathematical calculation that went with it, and then he went on to elaborate

¹ E. G. BROWNE, *LHP*, IV, 53–54, attempts to calculate how Ḥasan-i Rūmlū arrived at his 528 years by suggesting that the author was in fact making reference to his own times rather than to the *ġulās* of Šāh Ismā'il.

² For a list of the dynasties that claimed to be of 'Alid descent see B. LEWIS, "'Alids", in *EI*, new edition.

³ B. LEWIS, "'Alī al-Riḡā", in *EI*, new edition.

⁴ See below p. 39, note 8, on the Mamlūk-Mongol peace treaty referred to here.

⁵ These *šī'i* activities here summarized will be dealt with in greater detail below. See also p. 62 ff., 66 ff., and 67 ff.

on Ṣafawid history itself. He did not stop to reflect on the question: why is it that after so many hundreds of years of dormant existence, *ṣī'ism* of the *īḡnā'aṣārī* persuasion appeared all of a sudden as a religion and as a state in the world of Islam?

Muslim historians of the traditional school of historiography do not as a rule answer the question why. They are by and large chroniclers of events, and Ḥasan-i Rūmlū is certainly not an exception¹.

However, there is no doubt that finding a cogent answer to this question is in itself an important undertaking. *Ṣī'ism* as a doctrine was always and throughout the entire span of Muslim history a highly controversial and burning issue². It is a major aspect of the general study of the whole of Muslim history. Moreover, nowadays, a large section of the Muslim world professes *ṣī'ism* as a religion. Irān is the leading *ṣī'i* state today; and it is sufficient to mention the large *ṣī'i* minority in Iraq. It is on the *ṣī'ism* of these two countries that the present investigation will largely be centered.

However, no definitive answer to this question is possible at this stage of the research and scholarship in the field. Work on *ṣī'ism* as a whole and on this period in particular is still incomplete and of a largely preliminary nature. Still, it is hoped that throughout this work and in the course of the discussion certain major points will be underscored, and that these may lead the reader to an understanding of the situation and serve as a tentative answer to the question posed. A concluding chapter will bring together these points in an attempt to clarify the project which will have been undertaken.

A major part of the project, therefore, is to try and find what exactly happened to *ṣī'ism* during the period before the rise of the Ṣafawids³. Work has been done on the early part of

¹ See for example what Philip K. HITTl says on this general problem: "Apart from the use of personal judgement in the choice of the series of authorities and in the arrangement of the data, the (Muslim) historian exercised very little power of analysis, criticism, comparison or inference." *History of the Arabs*, 6th edition, London 1956, p. 389. On this subject in general, however, see ROSENTHAL, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, Leiden 1952.

² It still is even today. See for example a recent work by Muḥammad 'Alī az-Zu'bi entitled *Lā Sunna wa-lā Ṣī'a* (Neither Sunna nor Ṣī'a), Beirut, February 1961. It is perhaps not surprising that the author appears to be a Zaidī - a *ṣī'i* school intermediate between the *imāmi* Twelvers and the orthodox sunnīs. See his section on "Zaid aṣ-ṣahīd", 229-230. During his visit to Persia in 1887-8, E. G. BROWNE observed that "the most burning political questions were those connected with the successors of the Prophet Muḥammad in the seventh century of our era." *LHP*, IV, 157. G. H. BOUSQUET tells of a *sunnī* teacher in Syria who had to change his name from 'Umar ibn 'Uṭmān to 'Alī ibn Muḥammad so as to be acceptable in a *ṣī'i* village to which he was appointed by the Ministry of Education. See BOUSQUET's "Études islamologiques d'Ignaz Goldziher" (Traductions Analytiques IV), *Arabica*, VIII (1961), 268, n. 1. The newspaper *Turkmenshaya Iskra*, published in Ashkabad, capital of the Turkmen Republic of the USSR, has recently demanded "the suppression of what it called fanatic practices of the Shīah sect". See Theodore SHABAD in the *New York Times*, May 26, 1963.

³ *Ṣī'ism*, within the context of the present work, will be used in its wider and more general connotation as opposed to *sunnī* orthodoxy. However, three "types" of *ṣī'ism* will be differentiated as the discussion progresses, namely: (a) *īḡnā'aṣārī ṣī'ism* of the *imāmi* school, (b) *ismā'īlī ṣī'ism* of the type that flourished in Egypt under the Faṭimids, as well as the *ismā'īlī* movement of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, and (c) *ghulāt ṣī'ism* of extremist movements which flourished at the folk level of popular Islām. *Zaidī ṣī'ism* will not be discussed here. For a brief idea of what each type means see the following articles in the *Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam*: "Shī'a" (R. STROTHMANN), "Iḡnā'aṣārīya" (Cl. HUART), "Ismā'īlīya" (W. IVANOW), "Sab'īya" (R. STROTHMANN), "Ghālī", and "al-Zaidīya" (R. STROTHMANN). For an intelligent discussion of the main aspects of the problem see S. MOSCATI, "Per una storia dell'antica Ṣī'a", *RSO*, 30 (1955), 252-267. See also B. LEWIS, "Some observations on the significance of heresy in the history of Islām", *Studia Islamica*, I (1953), 43-63, especially 54 ff. on "*ghuluww*"; and M. G. S. HODGSON, "How did the early Shī'a become sectarian?", *JAOS*, 75 (1955), 1-13, where he notes "the spiritual independence of the ghulāt" as one factor on how *ṣī'ism* escaped the fate of absorption in the *sunnī* synthesis.

Šī'ī history, i. e., on the great Fāṭimid state of Egypt¹. Further, the Šī'ī groups that carried on the Fāṭimid *da'wa* in Irān and Syria, namely the followers of Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ, have also been adequately investigated². It is only after the fall of Alamūt to the Mongols in 1256 that we are left in the dark.

On this basis, the present work will limit itself to an investigation of Šī'ism during the two and a half centuries between the fall of the so-called Assassins and the victory of Šī'ism under the Šafawids in Irān³.

Geographically, as may already have been inferred, the present investigation will address itself primarily to Irān and Iraq. More specifically, the geographical areas which shall govern our attention throughout the discussion will be western Irān and northern Iraq. However, an area which as we shall see cannot be left out altogether from the discussion during this period is Anatolia – and in particular its eastern recesses. For throughout the two and a half centuries to be considered there were no political boundaries in the strict sense of the word between Irān, Iraq, and Anatolia; and it is only after the final establishment of the Ottoman and Šafawid empires that we may be permitted to speak of national and political, as well as for our purposes, religious boundaries.

In brief, the investigation shall attempt to cover the period between the rise of the Mongols in the heart of the Muslim countries and the rise of the Šafawids in Irān. For purposes which will become progressively more evident, the latter part of this period – i. e., the all-important fifteenth century – shall govern our attention most. Similarly, and in a geographic sense, the area to which we shall devote most of our time will be a triangle of territory with Tabriz, Qonya, and Baġdād forming its three geometrical apexes.

For "contemporary" views on Šī'ism and its divisions see the following:

- a) 'Aḡud ad-Dīn al-Iḡī (d. 756/1355), *al-Mawāḡif fi 'Ilm al-kalām*, Cairo, 1357, 414–430. Iḡī divides the Šī'a into Ġulāt, Zaidīya and Imāmīya, and lists the Ismā'īliya among the 18 *ḡulāt* groups.
- b) al-Sayyid al-Šarīf al-Ġurġānī (d. 816/1413), *Kitāb al-la'rifāt*, Leipzig 1845: see his definitions of *ismā'īliya* (p. 27), *imāmīya* (p. 38), and *Šī'a* (p. 135).
- c) Ibn Ḥaldūn (d. 846/1442), *al-Muqaddima*, Beirut ed., 1956, pp. 352–361.
- d) al-Qalqašandī (d. 821/1418), *Subḥ al-a'šā*, Cairo, 1918, Volume XIII, 222–253, section entitled "Ahl al-bida'". Qalqašandī divides the Šī'a into *zaidī*, *imāmī*, *ismā'īlī*, *druze*, and *nuṣairī*.
- e) al-Maqrīzī (d. 846/1442), *Kitāb al-Ḥiṣāṣ* (Dār al-'Irḡān edition, Beirut, 1959, which incidentally is a very bad edition), III, 289 ff., or (the Cairo edition, 1326, a slightly better edition), IV, 162 ff. Maqrīzī dubs all non-sunnīs as *ḡulāt*!

Most if not all of these writers give the traditional account on Šī'ism and the sects based on Šāhrastānī, Baġdādī, Ibn Ḥazm, etc. No attempt is made by any of them to discuss the "contemporary" scene, hence their essential uselessness for our purposes, except perhaps for the fact that the traditional story persisted so long. This entire question deserves a special study.

¹ E. g., B. LEWIS, *The Origins of Isma'ilism: A study of the historical background of the Fāṭimid Caliphate*, (Cambridge, England 1940), which is originally the author's thesis for a Ph. D. degree at London University.

² Marshall G. S. HODGSON, *The Order of Assassins*, (The Hague, 1955); and more recently B. LEWIS *The Assassins: A Radical Sect in Islam*, (London, 1967).

³ One chronicle, the *Takmilat al-aḡbār*, delimits this period further. The author speaks of the defeat of the 'Abbāsids, the coming of the Mongols and the Islamization of Ġāzān Ḥān. Then he mentions the Šī'ism of Ulġaitū Ḥudābanda, and

« . . . و بعد ازو خود مدتها هرج و مرج روی نمود تا قضیه صادقه جاء اَلْحَقُّ وَ زُجِنَ اَلْبَاطِلُ از حجاب تواری چهره گشود، و شاه جهان آرای قَطَعَ دایرِ اَلْقَوْمِ اَلَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا وَ اَلْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ رَبِّ اَلْعَالَمِينَ در آینه ملك جلوه یعی بصیقل شمشیر جهانگیری خاقان کبیر . . . سلطان شاه اسمعیل . . . زنگ ظلمت ظلم و غبار انکار از مرآت روزگار مرتفع و منقطع گشت.»

See page 242a of the photostatic reproduction of sections of the MS. in ERENDEYEV, *Obrazovaniia Azerbaydz-hanskogo Gosudarstva Sefevidov v nachale XVI veka*, Baku, 1961.

Ḥasan-i Rūmlū tells us further that when Šāh Ismā'īl decided to establish *īnā'ašari šī'ism* as the state religion in Irān he was at a loss to find a book which contained the principal tenets of the new religion. After some search a work on the *īnā'ašariya* was found in an obscure private library. This work was the *Qawā'id al-Islām* of al-Ḥasan ibn Yūsuf ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥilli¹. We are told that this book was adopted as a basis for the newly established belief.

Ibn al-Muṭahhar was the leading *īnā'ašari šī'i* scholar of the high Mongol period. His dates are 648-726/1250-1326; i. e. he lived at the beginning of the period of two and a half centuries which this work aims to investigate. Therefore, he shall conveniently serve as a good beginning for our period in the same way that his book served as the start of Šafawid *šī'ism*. And following a general section on the politico-historical setting for this period, the investigation proper will begin with a study of Ibn al-Muṭahhar and his times.

¹ Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tavāriḥ*, I, 61:

در آن اوان مسایل مذهب حق جمفری و قواعد وقوانین ملت ائمه اثنی عشری اطلاق نداشتند، زیرا که کتب فقه امامیه چیزی در میان نبود، و جلد اول از کتاب «قواعد اسلام» که از جلة تصانیف سلطان العلماء المتبحرین جمال الدین مطهر حلّ است که شریعت پناه قاضی نصر الله زیتونی داشت از روی آن تعلیم و تعلم مسایل دینی مینمودند، تا آنکه روز آفتاب حقیقت مذهب اثنی عشری ارتفاع پذیرفت و اطراف و اکناف عالم از اشراق لوامع طریق تحقیق از مشارق منور گردید.

On Ibn al-Muṭahhar's *Qawā'id al-Islām* see below, p. 27 ff. (I have been unable so far to identify further Qādī Naṣr Allāh Zaitūnī mentioned here).

HISTORICAL SETTING

From the fall of Bagdād to the rise of the Ṣafawids is approximately two and a half centuries¹. To attempt to summarize comprehensively the general political history of this long period in a few pages will be a very difficult undertaking, particularly if one is to do justice to the various and almost innumerable states and dynasties that grew up, flourished, and finally declined in the area under consideration (i. e., Irān, Iraq, and Anatolia) during this period. However, to appreciate better and to understand more fully the religious problems of the times, a quick survey of the political history is quite indispensable. And so, instead of launching upon a detailed chronological narrative we shall highlight specific events and lay special stress on that part of the story which shall serve as a background to the subject of religious sectarianism during these 250 years.

And although the fall of the 'Abbāsīd capital to Hulagu in 1258 is itself a momentous event in the history of Islam, the sacking and destruction of the *šī'ī* (Ismā'īlī) stronghold at Alamūt two years before (in 1256) is for our purposes far more significant due to its religious consequences². Equally important is the victory of the Mamlūks over the Mongols at 'Ain Ġālūt in 1262, inasmuch as this event sealed the fate of Egypt, Syria, and the Arabian Red Sea littoral, thus keeping these areas within the fold of strict religious (*sunni*) orthodoxy under efficient Mamlūk domination³.

It is best to treat the history of this period, therefore, under five general headings, namely: the Mongol Ilhānids (roughly three-quarters of a century), the post-Mongol successor states

¹ In fact Šāh Ismā'īl conquered Bagdād in 914/1508, exactly 250 years after its conquest by Hulagu in 1258. – The main facts of the narrative here outlined are too well-known to require detailed documentation. Footnotes to this chapter, therefore, will be used very sparingly. A summary of the leading authorities and main secondary sources will form part of the discussion at the end of the chapter.

² See p. 40, note 2; and compare Barthold's evaluation of the cultural and economic leadership of Iran during the Mongol period in his *Ulugh-Beg* (v. II of *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, transl. by V. and T. MINORSKY, Leiden 1958), p. 4 ff.

³ Goldziher quotes Maqrīzī as saying: «راخض مذهب الشيعة والاسماعيلية والامامية حتى فقد من أرض مصر كلها» See Ignace Goldziher (1850–1921), "Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte der Šī'a und der sunnitischen Polemik", in *Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Classe der Kais. Ak. d. Wiss.*, Wien, LXXVII (1874), p. 457. But Maqrīzī (in *Sulūk*, I, pt. 2, 440) has the following:

«وفيه (أي سنة ٦٥٨ هـ / ١٢٥٩ - ٦٠) ثار جماعة من السودان والركبانية والعلماء وشقروا القاهرة وهم ينادون يا آل علي . . .»

The movement was cruelly suppressed. The Damascus historian Ibn Kaṭīr (d. 795/1392) has the following story on the cruel suppression of a *raḍīqī* in Damascus in the year 766/1364:

«قتل الرافضى الحبيث: - وفي يوم الخميس سابع عشر (جمادى الآخرة ٧٦٦/١٣٦٤) أول النهار وجد رجل بالجامع الأموى اسمه محمود بن ابراهيم الشيرازى وهو يصبّ الشخين ويصرّح بلمنتهما، فرفع الى القاضي المالكي قاضى القضاة جمال الدين المسلق، فاستتابه عن ذلك وأحضر الضراب فأول ضربته قال «لا اله الا الله على ولّى الله». ولما ضرب الثانية لعن أبا بكر وعمر، فالتهمه العاتة فأوسعوه ضرباً مبرحاً بحيث كاد يهلك. فجعل القاضي يستكفهم عنه فلم يستطع ذلك. فجعل الرافضى يصبّ ويلعن الصحابة وقال كانوا على ضلال. فمذ ذلك حمل الى نائب

(half a century), the period of Timūr (a quarter of a century), the Qara-qoyunlu Turkmāns (half a century), and the Aq-qoyunlus (the last half a century of our period)¹.

1. The Ilhānīd Period

To begin with, Irān and Iraq were subjected to Mongol rule, first from Tabriz then from the new capital of Sulṭāniya, under a series of Il-hāns who ruled with varying degrees of authority beginning with Hulagu Hān (d. 663/1265) and ending with Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd (d. 736/1335). Two of the chief representatives of the dynasty were Gāzān Hān (ruled from 694 to 703/1295 to 1304) and Ulğaitū Hudābanda (ruled 703-716/1305-1316). Anatolia, where the rule of the Rūm Selgūqs was finally brought to an end formally in the early fourteenth century², soon became part of the Mongol domains. Governors were appointed to the various provinces in Irān, Iraq, and Anatolia, but, as was the case with the 'Abbāsīd state, the farther the governor was from the center of authority the more free and independent he was in the dispatch of the affairs of his own province. This was particularly true of Anatolia.

The Mongol period of roughly three-quarters of a century provides us with two of our chief historical authorities whose works constitute the best informed background for the earlier part of the period under study. These are 'Aṭā Malik Ġuwainī (d. 682/1283), author of the *Tārīḥ-i ġahān-guṣā*, being the famous history of the "world-conqueror" Ġingiz-Hān, and Rašīd ad-Dīn Faḍl Allāh (put to death in 718/1318), author of the famous *Ġāmi' al-tawārīḥ* and chief minister under both Gāzān-Hān and Ulğaitū.

It was during the latter part of the Mongol period that Ottoman history in Anatolia began to take shape. Progressively and with ever-increasing vigor the petty states (*beyliks*)³, away from the central power of the Mongol Hāns, were asserting their independence and managing their own affairs. But although these principalities were slowly and gradually separating themselves from the main stream of affairs in the central Muslim world, we cannot discount them from our considerations for the entire duration of the period under study. For only under the Ottoman Sulṭān Mehmed II in the second half of the fifteenth century can we safely assume that that part of the Muslim world (i. e., Anatolia) actually became part of the Ottoman Empire. A large measure of instability (at the religious level) in fact continued to exist in Ana-

السلطنة وشهد عليه قوله بأنهم كانوا على الضلالة. فعند ذلك حكم عليه القاضي بإقامة دمه، فأخذ إلى ظاهر البلد ففُصرت عنقه وأحرقت العامة . . . وكان يسنّ يقرأ بمدرسة أبي عمر، ثم ظهر عليه الرفض فسجنه الحبيل أربعين يوما فلم ينفع ذلك، وما زال يصرّح في كل موطن يأمر فيه بالسبّ حتى كان يومه هذا أظهر مذهبه في الجامع وكان سبب قتله . . . وقتل بقتله في سنة خمس وخمسين.

See his *al-Biddāya wan-Nihāya*, (Cairo, 1358/1939), v. XIV, p. 310. However, these incidents in Cairo and Damascus appear to have been very sporadic, and no mass movement against the *sunni* establishment is reported. Of a different type is the fate of the great *ifnā'aṣari* B'i scholar in Damascus, Muḥammad ibn Makki al-'Amīlī, "aṣ-Sahīd al-Awwal". On him see below, p. 66 ff. Further, in the Mamlūk judiciary there was room only for the four chief Qāḍīs of the *sunni*s. There was however a "Syndic of the Prophet's descendants (نقيب الاشراف), with supervision over their genealogies and statistics, as well as their conduct, their claims on the treasury, and other special interests." See Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans*, 1382-1468, (Systematic notes to Ibn Tagrī Birdī's chronicles of Egypt), University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, Vol. XV, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1955, p. 101.

¹ These time limitations are approximate and rather arbitrary; but they do mark the extent during which the party in question exercised general and more or less effective control.

² With the death of 'Alā' ad-Dīn Kaikubād III in 707-8/1307-8. The Mongol governors were stationed at Siwās in eastern Anatolia.

³ On the Turkish amirates in Anatolia see M. Tayyib GÖKBILGİN, "Beylik" in *E.I.*, new edition. See also Fr. Taeschner, *Ibid.*, s. v. "Anadolu", mainly section (iii), "Historical geography of Turkish Anatolia", pp. 465-68; and P. Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, (Luzac, 1938).

tolia even after Mehmed II, and we shall have reason to refer to the hazardous religious situation under Bāyezid II in a later chapter. In fact, Ottoman rule in Anatolia became supreme and effective only after the victory of Sultān Selim over Šāh Ismā'il at Čaldırān in 1514 and the subsequent Ottoman conquest of Syria and Egypt and the destruction of Mamlūk power in 1517.

2. *The Post-Ilhānīd Successor States*

In Irān and Iraq, however, a semblance of Mongol power continued to exert itself under the successor dynasties of the Čübānīds and the Ġalāyīrs. The representatives of these two dynasties, however, could not at any one time claim power much beyond the capital cities of Baġdād and Tabriz. The last effective ruler of the Ġalāyīrs, Sultān Aḥmad, after a turbulent rule of twenty-seven years, during which he could find refuge and safety at both the Ottoman and Mamlūk courts in his flight in the face of Timūr, finally found defeat and death at the hands of his fellow-traveler Qara-Yūsuf of the Qara-qoyunlu dynasty of the Turkmāns.

But there were other local dynasties and rulers during the half a century between the last Mongol Ilhānīd Abū Sa'id and the arrival of Timūr on the Iranian scene. In Fārs the Inġū dynasty, and later the Āl Muẓaffar, were in local control; at Sabzawār, the Sarbadār dynasty established control; and then there were the Sulġur Atābeks, the Atābeks of Luristān, the Atābeks of Yazd, and the Qarā-ḥiṭāy of Kirmān. Finally at Herat the Kurt (or Kart) dynasty held temporary sway. The list is far from being complete¹.

All these dynasties, as has been stressed earlier, exercised authority and control in very small limited areas in the towns and their immediate vicinity; their several histories may, for our general purposes, be summed up in those of a city, a court, and a poet to extol the humble (to us) exploits of the different *amīrs* or *sultāns*. There was no central authority in the whole of Irān during this period, and this was perhaps the most important single fact about this half century. But things changed almost overnight with the appearance of the new conqueror from the East.

3. *Timūr*

For in 1381 Timūr crossed into Irān and, until his death almost a quarter of a century later, the area underwent a tremendous though temporary change. The authority of a central power at Samarqand ran the affairs of the greater part of the Muslim world from the Syr Daryā almost to the Aegean.

The settlement of the Middle East question by Timūr, however, had no lasting consequences in Irān, Iraq, and Anatolia². For as soon as he disappeared from the scene, the old familiar phenomenon of rule by fragmentation reappeared. For almost half a century after Timūr, i. e., during the reign of his son Šāh Ruḥ (ruled 807–850/1404–1447), the Timūrids continued to exercise some control over their western provinces, but this control was continuously slackening. Already the *beyliks* of Anatolia, reinstituted by Timūr after the battle of Ankara in 805/1402, had been rewon by central Ottoman authority, and Mehmed II was in his turn pressing eastwards. In Irān and Iraq, on the other hand, the fifteenth century was in effect a

¹ Good and fairly comprehensive summaries on each of these dynasties, including the Čübānīds and Ġalāyīrs, can be found in 'Abbās IQBAL, *Tārīḥ-i muṣaṣṣal-i Irān*. Local contemporary chronicles on several of these dynasties or on the regions in which they held sway are progressively being published. See p. 16, n. 4 below.

² On Timūr's policy of conquest see a recent article by Jean Aubin, "Comment Tamerlan prenait les villes", *Studia Islamica*, XIX (1963), 83–122. The statement in the text above may perhaps be regarded as an outcome of that policy.

century of Turkman domination under successive Turkman tribal federations of the Qara-qoyunlu and the Aq-qoyunlu.

4. *The Qara-qoyunlus*

Following the death of Timūr and the weakening of the control of his immediate successors over the western provinces it seemed natural for the Turkman tribes, left to shift for themselves, to get together in order to safeguard themselves better against absorption by their neighbors¹. The Ottoman Empire to their west was fast consolidating its possessions under a growing centralized system; while in the east, at Samarqand and Herat, the Timūrids were trying hard to keep their authority over these tribes.

Between the Timūrids in the east and the Ottomans in the west, two federations of Turkman tribes slowly emerged in the no-man's land of western Irān, northern Iraq, and eastern Anatolia. One of these federations, the Qara-qoyunlu, established its headquarters in a roughly definable area north of Lake Van; while the other federation, the Aq-qoyunlu, began to operate from its center at Diyār-bakr. To the southwest were the Syrian frontiers of the Mamlūk state – which is perhaps another factor in the formation of the two Turkman federations.

Qara-Muḥammad, the first important figure in Qara-qoyunlu history, was in effect a vassal amir of Sulṭān Aḥmad Ġalāyir to whose turbulent reign reference has just been made. Qara-Muḥammad died in 792/1390, and the affairs of the federation fell to his son Qara-Yūsuf who, with Aḥmad Ġalāyir, made no effective opposition to Timūr, but instead fled upon his approach first to the lands of the Ottomans and later to Egypt. With the death of Timūr and the collapse of Timūrid power in the west, both Sulṭān Aḥmad and Qara-Yūsuf returned to their former domains. Soon hostilities broke out between them and victory was on the side of the Qara-qoyunlu chief. In a battle near Tabriz Sulṭān Aḥmad fought and died, and the Ġalāyir possessions in Āḍarbaigān were inherited by the Qara-qoyunlus. This occurred early in the fifteenth century (in 813/1409 to be exact), and for half a century or more after this date the Qara-qoyunlu dynasty more or less dominated the history of the area.

The most important figure of the dynasty was Qara-Yūsuf's son, Ġahān-Šāh, who was in more or less effective control after his father's death in 823/1420.

Ġahān-Šāh for some time temporized with the Timūrids who at times, as we have said, could exert their power and influence in the west which was still nominally under their control. In fact, Šāh Ruḥ of the Timūrids supported Ġahān-Šāh in his bid for power during the interminable succession struggles which almost everywhere in the area followed the death of a ruler and the accession of another. However, after establishing himself in Iraq and Āḍarbaigān, Ġahān-Šāh began to push to the east and encroach upon strictly Timūrid territory. The inevitable struggle broke out in 863/1458 when a battle was fought between Ġahān-Šāh and Abū Sa'id, the great grandson of Timūr and last effective ruler of the Timūrids at Herat. Abū Sa'id was defeated, and Ġahān-Šāh in fact occupied the Timūrid capital for six months.

The power and authority of the other Turkman federation, that of the Aq-qoyunlu at Diyār-bakr, was in the meantime growing, and their leaders were again enlarging their possessions eastwards. The two great federations finally clashed and Ġahān-Šāh was defeated and slain in 872/1467 at the hands of the most famous representative of the Aq-qoyunlu dynasty, the great Uzūn Ḥasan. With the death of Ġahān-Šāh, the affairs of the Qara-qoyunlu dynasty may be said to have effectively come to a close.

¹ On the political history of Irān between Timūr and the rise of the Ṣafawids see now R. M. Savory, "The Struggle for Supremacy in Persia after the Death of Timūr", in *Der Islam*, 40 (1964), No. 1, 35–65. The article is crammed with facts, and a few interpretative remarks would have been welcome. However, this is only "part of a doctoral thesis submitted to the University of London in 1958".

5. *The Aq-qoyunlus*

The history of the Aq-qoyunlu Turkmāns began when the first chief representative of the dynasty saw the benefits of attaching himself and his warriors to the cause of Tīmūr in his drive towards the west. The person in question was Qara-Osmān who fought against Qara-Yūsuf (of the Qara-qoyunlu dynasty), then moved westwards and defeated and killed Qāḍī Burhān ad-Dīn of Siwās in 800/1398, then joined Tīmūr in his clash with Bāyezid Yıldırım at the battle of Ankara and later in Syria. For his services Tīmūr awarded him the governorate of Diyār-bakr. From that center the Aq-qoyunlu began to expand in several directions but at first mainly at the expense of the weakening power of the Comnenae of Trapezund. Qara-Osmān died in 839/1435.

The most important figure of the Aq-qoyunlu dynasty was Uzūn Ḥasan, grandson of Qara-Osmān. Next to Mehmed II he was perhaps the most important figure of the century. He reigned over a large part of the area under study from 857/1453 to 882/1477-78.

Uzūn Ḥasan's involvements were fourfold: local, eastern, western, and international. On the local level he maintained cordial relations with the Byzantine dynasty at Trapezund: he married the princess Despina, daughter of the last representative of the Trapezuntine dynasty, Kalo-Joannes. His attempts to guard the interests of the dynasty led him finally to an armed clash with Mehmed II, the Ottoman emperor who had just conquered Constantinople and was rounding off his possessions to the east – a conflict which seemed quite inevitable. Uzūn Ḥasan's attempt to extend his frontiers to the north also brought him to incessant clashes with the Armenians and the Georgians in the region of the Caucasus. He made as many as five expeditions against the Ćerkes. Also on the local level he assisted in accommodating members of the family of Šaiḥ Šafī ad-Dīn of Ardabīl – a fact which, as will be discussed in a subsequent chapter, was of paramount importance in the history of that family.

Eastwards, Uzūn Ḥasan was gradually encroaching upon the Tīmūrids and, as was the case with the Qara-qoyunlus before them, the Aq-qoyunlus soon clashed with the Tīmūrids in their push towards the east. Abū Sa'id, who had been defeated by Ğahān-Šāh of the Qara-qoyunlu dynasty, was now engaged in a war of survival with Uzūn Ḥasan. In 873/1468-69 he was utterly defeated and killed, and Uzūn Ḥasan's territory now extended from Ḥurāsān and the Persian Gulf in the east to Ottoman territory in Anatolia in the west. For all intents and purposes, Irān appeared to have finally found a strong and able ruler. However, war with the Ottoman power in the west again seemed inevitable.

The reason for the outbreak of hostilities between Uzūn Ḥasan and the Ottoman emperor Mehmed II should best be sought in the attempts of the Venetian Republic and western Europe in general to contain the expanding Ottoman Empire. Constantinople had fallen a few years before, and the repercussions of its fall to the "infidels" was great in western Europe. Venetian envoys, well-placed in several sensitive spots in the Muslim world, advised their government that the rising star of Uzūn Ḥasan could be utilized to check the Ottomans. Uzūn Ḥasan was approached by the ambassadors of Venice, and their proposals seemed to tally with his own ambitions. Arms were dispatched by Venice to Cyprus where they awaited an opportune time to be delivered to the Aq-qoyunlu generals¹.

Everything appeared to be favorable for delivering a crushing blow to Ottoman power. All that was needed was concerted action among the "allies". This did not appear to have been

¹ The Russians under Ivan III in 1475 also sent envoys to Uzūn Ḥasan with the idea of allying with him against the Golden Horde. See Z. V. TOGAN, *Umumi Türh tarihine giriř*, 356. (Togan's source for this is KARAMZIN, *Istoriya rossiyskago Gosudarstva*, VI, 59, 143). See also John WANSBROUGH, "A Mamlūk letter of 877/1473", in *BSOAS*, 24 (1961), 200-213, for complications between Venice and the Mamlūks on account of her relations with Uzūn Ḥasan.

effected: the arms sent to Cyprus remained there, and when Uzūn Ḥasan finally met Mehmed II on the battlefield, the might of the Turkish cannon won the day. The Ottoman victory occurred in 877-78/1473-74, and this marks the highest power of the Aq-qoyunlu Turkmāns. Uzūn Ḥasan died a few years later in 882/1477-78 and the affairs of the Aq-qoyunlu federation weakened. The attempt to contain Ottoman power was given up by the Venetians and they soon signed a peace treaty with Bāyezīd II.

The remaining quarter of a century or so was marked by the usual disorders which follow the death of a strong ruler. The historical climate was suitable for the rise of the Ṣafawids¹.

6. Other Centers of Power

To give a more complete picture of the general historical events of this period, mention should be made of two or three minor centers of power in the area under consideration during this period:

- A. One of these has already been referred to, i. e., the Byzantine enclave in and around Trapezund on the Black Sea. With the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453, the years of the kindred Comnenae dynasty at Trapezund appeared to be numbered. Entering into marriage relations with Turkmān chiefs in their environs was perhaps the last and weakest attempt on the part of the Trapezuntines to survive a doomed fate. Uzūn Ḥasan, doubtless under the influence of his wife, the Trapezuntine princess Despina, tried to keep the Ottomans out of that enclave on the Black Sea. However, the efforts of Uzūn Ḥasan's mother to safeguard the interests of her daughter-in-law by pleading in person with Mehmed II had no effect on the Conqueror. When the Ottomans finally conquered Trapezund in 1461, all they were willing to give were some family heirlooms that were part of the inheritance of the beautiful princess.
- B. Minor reference has already been made to yet another and much more important center during this period, namely Ardabīl in Ādārbaigān. Ever since Mongol times, if not before, the family of Šaiḥ Ṣafi ad-Dīn was gradually establishing itself along an important and strategic center, and was slowly increasing its power through the activity of Šaiḥ Ṣafi and his descendants. More will be said shortly about the origin and early history of this powerful family whose descendants were able, towards the end of the fifteenth century, to establish themselves as the strongest single authority in all Irān. Suffice it to say here that the *šaiḥs* of Ardabīl, through their sagaciousness and the strength of their followers among the Turkmān tribes, were able to live through and in fact increase their power during Mongol, Tīmūrid, Qara-qoyunlu, and Aq-qoyunlu times, and emerge at the end of the fifteenth century as the strongest single power in the entire area. Their religious zeal and policy, their warlike activity against the Christian Georgians along the Caucasus frontiers, their marriage ties with the powerful Aq-qoyunlu dynasty, all these and other factors paved the way for their future hegemony.
- C. In the south near the Persian Gulf, and in an enclave centered around the small town of Ḥuwaizā, was another strong local dynasty, the Muṣa'ṣa's, who made a bid for local power during this period. Utilizing the weakness of their neighbours in Baġdād and their remoteness from the other center of authority in Tabrīz, the Muṣa'ṣa's were able to establish themselves as a relatively strong power in the marshy lands of southern Iraq for a fairly long period. Their independent existence continued until the rise of the Ṣafawids and needed a special campaign by Šāh Ismā'il himself. Under the Ṣafawids they continued

¹ The details of this section of the narrative will be dealt with at some length in a succeeding chapter. See p. 79 ff.

to be an important family of governors, and in fact, the family, or a related branch of it, remained influential in that region until near recent times when Rīzā Šāh Pahlavi was able in 1924 to put an end to the independent behavior of Saiḥ Ḥaz'al in the oil rich province of Ḥūzistān.

- D. Finally, a word should be said about another Turkmān dynasty which was located in an unfavorable position between the possessions of the three strong powers: the Ottomans, the Mamlūks, and the Qara-qoyunlus and Aq-qoyunlus. This was the Dū l-Qadr state at Elbistān¹ in and around Mar'aš on the highlands commanding the plain of Adana, in the southeast corner of Anatolia. Dū l-Qadr territory was ambitiously eyed by the three powers around it, but the dynasty was able to preserve its shaky independence until early in the sixteenth century when Sulṭān Selīm finally annexed it to the Ottoman Empire in preparation for his drive eastward against the Šafawids and southward against the Mamlūks.

7. Trends and Developments

Having thus far outlined briefly the main historical events of these two and a half centuries, it remains for us now by way of conclusion to discuss some problems and point out certain trends which were developing and taking form throughout this period:

i) One of these is the important observation that progressively during this period Arab ascendancy in the context of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate was gradually giving way to a Perso-Turkish culture that was fast replacing it. This trend actually began long before the Mongols destroyed the 'Abbāsīd caliphate when they occupied Baġdād in 1258. (This is partly why the fall of Baġdād was not such a crucial event after all). In fact this trend could be traced back to the time when 'Abbāsīd caliphs of the ninth century A. D. accepted Turkish soldiers in their bodyguards, and when independent Persian dynasties rose in the east in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Actually, the Selġūq period in Baġdād during the 11th-12th century had more or less effectively put an end to independent Arab hegemony in the caliphate. But the fall of Baġdād was in reality a crowning blow to any further attempts to reestablish Arab power – attempts made by such strong caliphs as an-Nāšir (575-622/1180-1225) in the thirteenth century. Arabic as a language, however, continued to enjoy a special position among writers and learned men. This was particularly true in *šī'i* writings and in certain *Šū'i* works. But side by side with it, Persian was slowly gaining ascendancy, and soon Turkish too was developing into a court and army language.

This trend could be felt throughout the entire area, and it was growing stronger from dynasty to dynasty and from district to district, so that at the end of our period, i. e., around the year 1500, the Muslim world was partitioned among four strong powers of Perso-Turkish culture: the Ottomans in the west, then the Šafawids in Irān, then the Ūzbeks in Māwarā'annahr, and finally the Moġūls in India. The Arab lands of Syria and Egypt became early in the sixteenth century a minor appanage of the Ottoman Empire. This arrangement remained more or less static – naturally with recurring border clashes along the frontiers – until the eighteenth century and the arrival of the imperialistic West.

ii) Another problem during these 250 years – a problem more for the present day scholar than for the people living at that time – was that of the boundaries themselves, mainly those to the east in Ḥurāsān, and those in the west in Āqarbaigān und Iraq. Attempts have been

¹ See TAESCHNER, "Elbistan", in *E.I.*, new edition; and J. H. MORDTMANN, "Dhu 'l-Qadr", also in *E.I.*, new edition (article revised by V. L. MĒNAGE). Short sections on the Dū l-Qadr dynasty can be found in most contemporary chronicles.

made to map these boundaries particularly in that undefined area where the Mamlūk, Ottoman, and Turkmān frontiers met along the upper Euphrates¹. For lack of definite lines, the age-old frontier along the upper valley of the Euphrates may be taken as a roughly convenient boundary line which marked the farthest extent of Mamlūk territory to the northeast². This border was very well guarded against attack by armies and, more important for our purposes, against the passage of ideas. However, the boundaries between Irān and Anatolia can at no time be definitively drawn during this period. This in itself was a very significant phenomenon for this area throughout the entire period. It was somewhere along this frontier that the Turkmān dynasties grew up, flourished, and rose to power. This is the location of Diyār-bakr and Lake Van, the original homes of the Aq-qoyunlu and Qara-qoyunlu dynasties. Further to the west were Qaramān, Germiān, and the other Turkish *beyliks* extending all the way to the emirate of Osmān in the northwest of Anatolia. Here too lay the state of Dū l-Qadr, and to the northeast of this area lay the possessions of the ephemeral empire of Trapezund.

Movements of tribes and peoples, *şūfi šaiḥs* and their followers, Muslim *‘ulamā* and government officials, were continuous along the undetermined frontiers of this area. This was perhaps the most important single factor which helped in the dissemination of the religious ideas which shall concern us in later chapters. One can see in this situation an open society of free movement and intercourse. At the end of the 250 years, with the *sunni* Ottomans on one side and the *šī‘i* Šafawids on the other, the curtain falls.

iii) Another important problem to which a passing reference has already been made in dealing with Uzūn Ḥasan and the Aq-qoyunlus, was the international involvements of many of the ruling houses during this period. For one thing, the Crusades which began at the end of the eleventh century were not finally eliminated until 1291 when their last stronghold at Acre fell to the Mamlūks. However, this did in no way end European interests in the Middle East, for this was the period of the increased commercial activity between the Italian cities of Venice and Genoa, to mention only two, and the Mediterranean and Black Sea coasts. The hinterlands of Syria, Iraq, and Irān were still the main routes of eastern trade.

In addition to commercial activity, the rising power of the Ottomans was posing a serious threat to eastern Europe; and the West, throughout the entire period, was looking for allies to counter this threat. The Mongol period in Irān was an era of tremendous diplomatic activity during the last few decades of the life of Outremer in a desperate attempt to relieve the pressure against the few remaining Crusade garrisons facing the growing power of the Mamlūks in Syria. And later, the Turkmāns (chiefly during the period of Uzūn Ḥasan as we have seen) were approached to meet the common danger of the Ottomans³.

Why these attempts failed does not concern us here. Long distances, half-hearted assistance, and an almost complete difference in outlook (based on contrasting ambitions between the

¹ Witness for example, POPPER, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans*, pp. 11, 16, and 41, and maps nos. 2 and 18, in his attempts to delineate the northeast Mamlūk frontier. He pins down the frontier line as follows: North – From a point a little NW of Dawriki (Dauraki, Devrigi, Dawraki, or Divrigi – all five spellings are given! – 220 miles north of Aleppo) southwest 350 miles to a point on the Mediterranean SW of Taisus; East – from a point on the Euphrates E of Rahba, then NW 350 miles to a point NE of Dawriki. See also the attempts at map-making at the end of Walther Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg*.

² Abū l-Fidā (d. 732/1343) relates one instance where an Arab border amir, Muhannā ibn ‘Isā, had an *iqṭā‘* from the Mamlūks near Aleppo, and at the same time another, in Hilla, from the Mongols (Ulğaitū). The historian adds: «... هذا أمر لم يمهّد مثله ولا جرى نظيره...» See his *Kitāb al-muḥtaṣar fī aḥbār al-baṣar*, IV, 71. Apparently the domains of this feudal family were fertile grounds to hatch invasion plans across the Mongol-Mamlūk border. See Ibn al-Fūṭī, *al-Ḥawādīf al-ḡāmi‘a*, 412.

³ For a summary of East-West relations during Mongol, Turkmān, and Šafawid times see V. Minorsky, "The Middle East in western Politics in the 13th, 15th, and 17th Centuries", *JRCAS*, XXVII (1940), No. 4, 427-461.

western traders and missionaries and the oriental dynasts) seem to indicate that all such rapprochement was doomed to failure from the start.

In any case, this international activity, both commercial and political, continued throughout the whole period, and ceased only, almost overnight, when the entire usefulness of the Middle East was questioned upon the discovery of the all-sea route to the Far East in 1496 almost at the close of our period. This was perhaps one of the most important out-flanking movements in modern times as far as the continued importance and prosperity of the area is concerned¹. Its consequences were far-reaching, and they contributed considerably to the success of the experiment begun in Irān by Šāh Ismā'īl and the Šafawids. For although the Ottoman Sulṭān Selim delivered a crushing blow to the newly founded Šafawid state at the battle of Čaldīrān in 1514 and could perhaps have put an end to the newly established Šī'ī state, still he found he had to turn back to Syria and Egypt in a desperate attempt to get to the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean as a countermove to check the growing Portuguese expansion in that area. A similar move on his part was to expand Ottoman power along the North African coastline where he recognized the achievements of the Barbary corsairs in their struggle with the Spanish pirates. Were the Ottomans trying to get to the Atlantic Ocean?²

8. Sources and Authorities

But we must leave our historical narrative at this point, and, before we conclude, we should say a few words about the historical sources for this period:

The last of the great Arab historians, 'Izz ad-Dīn ibn al-Aṭīr, had passed away from the scene as the Mongol hordes were passing north of his native town of Mosul in their drive north-westward. His *al-Kāmil fī l-Tārīḫ* although it does not deal at all with our period, is still the best available source for the background of the Mongol invasion³. For the Mongol period proper we are fortunate in possessing the works of two of the most famous Muslim historians who wrote in Persian, namely 'Aṭā Malik Ġuwainī⁴ and Rašīd ad-Dīn Faḍl Allāh⁵. The histo-

¹ For a dramatic analysis of this phenomenon see Arnold TOYNBEE, *Civilization on Trial*, (New York, Meridian Books, 1958), Chapter 5, "The unification of the world and the change in historical perspective", pp. 63-92. No doubt it was this international cataclysm which prompted Mr. Toynbee to add an Annex to his first volume of *A Study of History*, pp. 347-402, where he attempts at some length to analyse the significance of the rise of Šī'ism in Irān under Šāh Ismā'īl ca. 1500.

² In an unpublished graduate seminar paper (Princeton University 1960-61), I tried to argue, along these lines, the significance of Sulṭān Selim's conquest of Syria, Egypt, and the Ḥiğāz on the one hand, and his push into North Africa by giving support and recognition to the Barbary corsairs on the other.

³ *al-Kāmil* ends with the year 629/1231. Ibn al-Aṭīr's last entries describe the occupation of Āḍarbaigān by the Tatars (read Mongols). He quotes from a letter that came into his hands, sent by a merchant in Rayy, who had accompanied the Mongols to Āḍarbaigān, to his friends (business associates?) in Moṣul:

«إِنَّ الْكَافِرَ لَعَنَ اللَّهُ مَا نَقَدَرَ نَصْفَهُ وَلَا كَثُرَ جُوعُهُ حَتَّى لَا تَنْقَطِعَ قُلُوبُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ فَإِنَّ الْأَمْرَ عَظِيمٌ»

- v. XII (al-Azhar ed.), p. 234. Some may object to calling Ibn al-Aṭīr "the last of the great Arab historians", and would prefer to reserve this honor to Ibn Ḥaldūn or to later historians. This may be so; but it is felt that the latter's famous *Muqaddima* - being the first book of his universal history - has minimized his importance as a historian while enhancing his position as a great social scientist. For further reference to Arab historians after Ibn al-Aṭīr consult the following three short bio-bibliographical works: al-'Azzāwī, *al-Ta'rif bil-mu'arriḫīn*, v. 1 on the Mongol-Turkmān period, 601-941/1204-1534, (Bagdād, 1376/1957); M. M. Ziyāda, *al-Mu'arriḫūn fī Miṣr fī l-Qarn al-ḥāmis-'aṣar*, (Cairo, 1954); and Šalāh ad-Dīn al-Munagḡid, *al-Mu'arriḫūn al-Dimaṣqīyūn wa-āḍaruhum al-maḥṣūfa*, (Cairo, 1956).

⁴ Ġuwainī's *Tārīḫ-i ġahān-ġuṣā*, i. e. the history of the world conqueror Čingiz-ḥān, was completed in 658/1260. The third section of the work deals with Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ and the Ismā'īlīs of Alamūt. 'Aṭā Malik was governor of Bagdād for a long time following the Mongol conquest. His brother Muḥammad was the Šāḥib Dīvān, perhaps the highest civilian post in the Mongol administration.

⁵ Rašīd ad-Dīn was chief minister to both Čāzān-ḥān and Ulḡaitū, and was perhaps the most influential

rical and geographical works of Hamd Allāh Mustaufi-yi Qazwīnī¹ complement the material of the other two more celebrated historians².

On the post-Mongol pre-Timūrid period (that of the Ġalāyirs and other local dynasties) we possess no work of comparable magnitude³. Information about this turbulent period, however, can be gleaned from later chronicles and from city and town histories which were common at this time⁴, as well as from the literature produced at the various courts, much of which is of important topical significance⁵.

The career and campaigns of Timūr, on the other hand, have been chronicled by two famous historians: the one in Persian – the *Zafarnāma* of Šaraf ad-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī⁶; the other in Arabic – Ibn 'Arabšāh's *'Ağā'ib al-maqqūr*⁷; the former a work of a panegyrist, the latter a highly

personage during the high Ilhānid period. His history, the *Ġāmi' al-tawārīḥ*, is still not published in its entirety. Still useful is E. G. BROWNE's analysis of the contents of this world history in *JRAS* (January 1908), 17–37. See also Z. V. TOGAN, "The composition of the History of the Mongols by Rashid al-Dīn", in *Central Asian Journal*, VII, 1 (March 1962), 60–72; and Manūčīhr MURTAZAWI's comprehensive remarks on *Ġāmi' al-tawārīḥ* in his *Tahqīq* . . . p. 158 ff. (In this last reference see the discussion on a work on Sulṭān Ulğaitū called *Tārīḥ-i Ulğnitū*, by Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī al-Kāšānī, p. 205 ff., and Cf. STOREY, 267 and 1272). On Rašīd ad-Dīn's *Mukhṭabāt*, see below p. 18, note 7.

¹ Qazwīnī's *Tārīḥ-i ġusīda* was completed in 730/1330, and his geographical work, the *Nuḥṣat al-Qulūb*, a few years later. As *mustaufi* or tax collector, Qazwīnī is very authoritative and trustworthy. To him we owe one of the earliest factual references to Šaiḥ Šaḥī ad-Dīn of Ardabīl. See below p. 46, note 3.

² For a very good descriptive list of the major historical works (published or in MS. form) of the Mongol Ilhānid period see Manūčīhr MURTAZAWI, *Tahqīq* . . . , section entitled: «کتابهای تاریخی که در دوره ایلخانان تألیف شده است» pp. 137–57. MURTAZAWI lists as many as 33 major works.

³ See, however, Abū Bakr al-Quṭbī al-Aharī, *Tārīḥ-i Shaikh Uwais*, . . . ed. and translated (only pages 134–184 of the manuscript) by J. B. VAN LOON, The Hague, 1954.

⁴ On histories of cities and towns and of local dynasties: Of particular importance are the four volumes published by B. DORN under the general title: *Mohammedanische Quellen zur Geschichte der südlichen Küstenländer des Kaspischen Meeres*, (St. Petersburg, 1857–58). They include the *Tārīḥ-i Ġānī* on Ġlān, 880–920/1475–1514, by 'Alī ibn Šams ad-Dīn ibn Hāġġī Ḥusain; the *Tārīḥ-i Ġilān* in 923–1038/1517–1628 of 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Fūmanī; and the *Tārīḥ-i Tabāristān wa-Rūyān wa-Māzandarān* of Zāhir ad-Dīn ibn Naṣr al-Dīn al-Mar'āšī (815–892/1412–1486). Volume IV includes an important selection, (pp. 468–472), from Ġannābī's *Tuḥfat al-adīb*. (Ġannābī's other work: *al-'Ailam az-zāhir fī aḥwāl al-awā'id w al-awāḍiḥ*, known as *Tārīḥ al-Ġannābī*, was summarized by Qaramānī in *Aḥbār ad-duwal*. See 'Azzāwī, *Tārīḥ*, II, 23–24 and III, 12–13, and *ĠAL*, II, 387–88, and Suppl. 2, 412). This volume deals mainly with Ṭabāristān and Ġlān, and includes selections from Yāqūt, Mas'ūdī, Mustaufi-yi Qazwīnī (*Nuḥṣat al-qulūb*), Rāzī (*Ḥaṣṭ iqlīm*), Samarqandī (*Maḥṣa' as-Sa'dain*), Iskandar Munšī (*Tārīḥ-i 'ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsi*), Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, Ḥwāndamīr, Ḥāḥūz-i Abrū (*Zubdat al-tawārīḥ*), and others. For a partial list of some of these local histories see STOREY, I, pp. 348–366, where the histories are listed for Qum, Iṣfahān, Kāšān, Fārs, Ḥurāsān, Kirmān, Ṭabāristān, Ġlān, Sistān, and Ḥuzistān. See also:

احمد علی خان وزیر کرمانی، تاریخ کرمان، تهران ۱۳۳۰/۱۹۱۱ - ظهیر الدین بن نصیر الدین مرعشی، تاریخ گیلان و دیلمستان،

رشت ۱۳۳۰ - ظهیر الدین بن نصیر الدین مرعشی، تاریخ طبرستان و رویان و مازندران، تهران، ۱۳۳۳ ه. ش،

محمد کتبی (fl. 1420)، تاریخ آل مظفر، تهران ۱۳۳۵/۱۹۵۶ - عبد الرحیم کلانتر ضرابی (the same work by DORN, above).

(سجیل کاشانی)، تاریخ کاشان، تهران ۱۳۴۱/۱۹۶۳ - شیخ جابر أنصاری، تاریخ اصفهان وری، تهران ۱۳۲۲/۱۹۴۴ - حسن

بن محمد قی، کتاب تاریخ قم، تهران ۱۳۱۳/۱۹۳۵.

⁵ Salmān-i Sāwagī, the poet laureate of the Ġalāyirs, is a case in view. He died in 778/1376. On him see BROWNE, *LHP*, III, 260 ff.; and 'Azzāwī, *Tārīḥ*, II, 151–2 and *passim*. The latter scholar has used Sāwagī very effectively in his sections on early Ġalāyir history. Other poets include Ibn-i Yamīn, 'Ubad-i Zākānī, and Ḥwāḡū Kirmānī. On them see BROWNE, *LHP*, III, 211–57.

⁶ Written in 828/1424–25, and based partially in a work of the same title by Niẓām ad-Dīn Šāmi done about a quarter of a century before.

⁷ Ibn 'Arabšāh was a native of Damascus, studied at Samarqand, and died in Cairo, 854/1450.

critical and personal narrative. Both works taken together, however, furnish us with a fairly complete picture of Timūr's exploits. On the Timūrid period and the relations between the Timūrids and their western possessions in Irān, very important information can be gathered from the works of such celebrated historians as Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 'Abd ar-Razzāq Samarqandī, Mu'in Isfazarī, and Faṣḥi-yi Ḥwāfi¹.

The fifteenth century as a whole has also been fortunate in having two well-known historians, Mirḥwānd and Ḥwāndamīr, whose *Rauḍat as-Ṣafā* and *Ḥabīb as-Siyar* respectively are indispensable for a proper understanding of the period just before the emergence of the Ṣafawids². Unfortunately very little space is devoted by these two writers to the Turkmān dynasties whose history is so vital for a correct evaluation of this century. However, chronicles on the Qaraqoyunlu and Aq-qoyunlu dynasties are not lacking, and recently an important work on the later history of the Aq-qoyunlus, namely Ibn Rūzbihān Ḥunḡī's *Tārīḥ-i 'ālam-ārā-yi 'Aminī*, has been made available³. Work was completed on another Aq-qoyunlu chronicle, the *Tārīḥ-i Diyārbakrīya*, which deals with the era of Uzūn Ḥasan⁴. The sections on the Qaraqoyunlu preserved in the Arabic MS. *at-Tārīḥ al-Giyāfi* contribute very valuable material of a contemporary nature which still has to be assessed and evaluated by comparison with other available sources⁵.

Mention should be made of later chronicles which appeared during the Ṣafawid period itself but which contain very valuable information and significant data on the fifteenth century. Among these are Ḥasan-i Rūmlū's *Aḥsan at-tawārīḥ*, Gaffārī's *Tārīḥ-i ḡahān-ārā*, and Iskandar Munšī's *Tārīḥ-i 'ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsi* – to mention only three of such chronicles⁶.

These dozen or so works written within a century of each other provide rich historical material for the period under study. They should however be supplemented by many other works of a biographical nature – works that deal solely with the lives of poets and literary figures, of mystics and *ṣūfi* leaders, of saints and holy men, and other such *tezkerés* without which the

¹ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū completed *Zubdat at-tawārīḥ* in 829/1426, (see also Felix TAUER, *Cinq opuscules de Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, concernant l'histoire de l'Iran au temps de Tamerlan*, Prague, 1959); Samarqandī's *Maḡla' as-Sa'dain* covers the period between the last Mongol Ilḡhānid ruler Abū Sa'īd and the death of Abū Sa'īd the Timūrid (in 873/1468–69); Isfazarī's *Rauḍat al-ḡannāt* on the history of Herat is carried down to the year 875/1470–71; the *Muḡmal-i Faṣḥi* (till 854/1442) is a very useful summary.

² *Rauḍat as-Ṣafā* of Mirḥwānd brings the narrative down to 873/1468–69 (end of Book VI). Book VII (written probably by Ḥwāndamīr) covers the history of Māwarā'annahr till 912/1506–7. A continuation of this work by Riẓā Qulī-ḡān Hīdāyat (entitled *Rauḍat as-Ṣafā-yi Nāṣiri* in 3 volumes) carries the narrative on to the mid-19th century. Hīdāyat's views on the coming of the Ṣafawids (at the beginning of his continuation) are noncritical. Ḥwāndamīr's *Ḥabīb as-siyar* was written in 929/1523 and, although unimaginative, still it contains the full traditional account on the rise of the Ṣafawids.

³ Edited by V. MINORSKY under the title *Persia in A.D. 1478–1490*, in an English summary translation, (published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Luzac, 1957). The original Persian text is being prepared for publication by Mr. John E. Woods (who is also finishing his Ph. D. thesis at Princeton University on the Aq-qoyunlu Turkmāns).

⁴ *Tārīḥ-i Diyārbakrīya* edited by Faruk SÜMER of Ankara University and Necati LUGAL, Ankara, 2 vols. 1962–64.

⁵ On *at-Tārīḥ al-Giyāfi* by 'Abd Allāh ibn Faṭḥ Allāh al-Baḡdādī, see now M. Schmidt-Dumont, *Türkmenische Herrscher des 15. Jahrhunderts in Persien und Mesopotamien nach dem Tārīḥ al-Giyāfi*, in press (according to a personal communication from Dr. H. R. Roemer, Freiburg im Br.), July 1970.

⁶ Rūmlū's *Aḥsan at-tawārīḥ* is a Ṣafawid history from 900–986/1494–1578, edited and translated by C. N. SEDDON, v. I, text, (Baroda 1931) and v. II, translation (Baroda 1934). Iskandar Munšī's *Tārīḥ-i 'ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsi* was written in 1026/1616 for Sāḥ 'Abbās, while Gaffārī's *Tārīḥ-i ḡahān-ārā* was completed in 972/1564. An invaluable list and analysis of Ṣafawid and other chronicles is given by M. B. Dickson in Appendix II, "Sources and Bibliography" (pp. xlv–lxiii) of his *Shāh Ṭahmāsb and the Usbeks: The Duel for Khurāsān with 'Ubayd Khān, 930–946/1524–1540*, (Princeton University, Ph. D. thesis, May, 1958).

cultural, intellectual, and religious aspects of this history cannot be properly studied or appreciated. These have been a primary and invaluable source for our work as will be seen in future chapters¹.

So far mention has been made of works composed in the area and mainly in Persian, the literary language of the entire region under consideration. Reference however should be made to the equally important writings in Turkish in the Ottoman Empire. 'Āṣiḳ-pāshā-zādē is an important contemporary source², while Munaḡḡim-bāṣi's original Arabic work, the *Ġāmi' ad-duwal*, uses material not available from other sources³.

From the eastern part of our region, works in Čaġatay Turkish become gradually more important towards the end of the period. Mīr 'Alī-Šīr Nawā'i's *Maġālīs an-Nafā' is*⁴, and Bābur's *Memoirs*⁵ are two works in question. The literature produced in Ḥurāsān and Māwarā'annahr, although of less importance for our immediate purposes, throws very useful light on the reactions in Central Asia to the rise of the Šafawid state in Irān. Equally important are the works done in Mamlūk Egypt during the fifteenth century by such notable figures as al-Maqrizī, Ibn Taġri-birdī, and as-Saḡāwī, to mention only three of them⁶. The *sunni* reaction to the rise of *šī'ism* in Irān is perhaps best exemplified in their works.

Other indigenous material of great significance for the period as a whole is the so-called *munšiyānē* literature, i. e., the extensive correspondence between the various courts and rulers. The *Mukātabāt-i Rašīdī* of the great Mongol minister Rašīd ad-Dīn Faḍl Allāh⁷, and the later

¹ For a partial list of the most important *tesheres* see the section entitled: «بعضی از مهمترین تذکروهای فارسی» in the introduction to v. I of Rīzā Qulī-hān HĪDĀYAT's *Maġma' al-fuṣaḡā'*, edited by M. MUṢAFFĀ (1334/1956). See also the section on Šī'i (*imāmī*) biographical works in MUḤSIN AL-AMĪN, *A'yūn ad-Šī'a*, v. I, pt. 2, pp. 117-127.

² Born in 803/1400, and died sometime after 889/1484, Aṣiḳ-pāshā-zādē's *Tawārīḡ-i Āl-i Osmān* was first edited by 'Alī BEY, Istanbul 1332/1913-14. A German edition appeared in Leipzig in 1929: *Die allosmanische Chronik* . . . ed. by Friedrich GIESE. A more recent Turkish edition by C. N. ATŞIZ appeared in *Osmanlı Tarihleri*, I, (Istanbul 1949). On the author see "'Ashik-pāshā-zāde", a short entry by Taeschner in *EI*, new edition.

³ Munaḡḡim-bāṣi, Aḥmad ibn Luṭf Allāh, died on 29 Ramaḍān 1113/27 February 1702 in Mecca. A Turkish translation of his *Ġāmi' ad-duwal* appeared under the title *Şaḡd'if al-aḡbār* (3 volumes, Istanbul 1285/1868). It was done by the poet Nedim Aḥmed Efendi in the 18th century (on Nedim see Sami FRA-SCHERY, *Qāmūs al-a'lām*, VI, 4571). The original work of Munaḡḡim-bāṣi has not yet been published in its entirety. V. MINORSKY has edited sections of it in his *Studies in Caucasian History* (1953), and *A History of Sharvān* . . . (1958). See the introductions to these two monographs for a discussion of Munaḡḡim-bāṣi's MSS. For a description of the five MSS. of *Ġāmi' ad-duwal* available in Istanbul, see A. DIETRICH in *Orientalia*, XXVII, n. s., pt. 3 (1958), 262-68.

⁴ Composed in Čaġatay Turkish in 896/1490-91. Two 16th century Persian translations of this work (by Faḡrī Hirāṭī and Ḥakīm Šāh Muḥammad Qazwīnī) were published in one volume (Tehran, 1323/1945) by 'Alī Asġar HIKMAT. For details on these translations and other MSS. see introduction to this publication.

⁵ The narrative of the *Memoirs*, better known as the *Bābur-nāma*, extends to the year 936/1529-30.

⁶ The leading Egyptian writers of the 15th century and their major works are: a) al-Maqrizī (d. 846/1442), *al-Mawḍi'iz w al-I'tibār fī ḡihr al-ḡiṣaṭ w al-āfār*, and *as-Sulūk li-ma'rifaṭ duwal al-mulūk*; b) Ibn Haġar al-'Asqalānī (d. 853/1449), *ad-Durar al-kāmina*; c) al-'Aīnī (d. 855/1451), *Iqd al-ġumān*; d) Ibn Taġrī-birdī (d. 875/1470), *an-Nuġūm az-zāhira*, *al-Manḡal as-Šāfi*, and *Ḥawādiṣ ad-duḡūr*; e) as-Saḡāwī (d. 903/1497), *at-Tibr al-masbūḡ fī ḡail as-Sulūk*, and *ad-Daw' al-lāmi' li-aḡl al-qarn al-tāsi'*; f) as-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), *Ḥusn al-muḡāḡara*, and *Tārīḡ al-ḡulafā*; g) Ibn Iyās (d. 931/1524), *Badd'i' as-suḡūr*. For a comprehensive discussion of these writers and their works see Muḥammad Muṣṭafā ZIYĀDA, *al-Mu'arriḡūn fī Miṣr fī al-qarn al-ḡāmis-aṣar*, (2nd edition, Cairo 1954).

⁷ Edited by Muḥammad ŠAFI' (Lahore 1947); but see R. LEVY's sharp criticism of the historical worth of these *mukātabāt* in "The Letters of Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh", *JRAS* (1946), 74-78. Levy believes the letters are of Indian provenance. Z. V. TOĠAN, however, thinks these letters to be significant. See his article mentioned in p. 15, note 5. In "notes" received (July, 1970) from Professor H. R. ROEMER of Freiburg Uni-

collections known as the *Munša'āt-i Salāṭin* of Feridūn Bey¹ are two very important sources for this period. Unfortunately the greater part of this correspondence is still not available for the scholar in printed form². Of special importance in this respect is the chancery correspondence preserving the *firmāns*, *soyūrghāls*, etc., of the ruling dynasties of this period³.

These are the indigenous sources indispensable for a proper understanding of the political and cultural history of Irān, Iraq, and Anatolia during the 250 years – and the list is by no means exhaustive. There is in addition, however, a mass of foreign sources that deal with the area in a somewhat second-hand fashion, i. e., the European travelers and adventurers who visited the area or passed through it, then returned home to write accounts of their exploits. In many cases, the accounts written bore no direct relation to the state of affairs; and there is no doubt that the misconceptions propagated by these ill-informed travelers did not conduce very much to the desired rapprochement on the international level between Irān and some of the Western powers. There is no doubt that this travel literature is important. Its importance, however, should not be too exaggerated and should be kept in secondary position after the native sources. At best it can only serve as corroborative evidence⁴.

versity, he draws attention to I. P. PETRUSHEVSKY's refutation of LEVY's views on *Mukhtabāt-i Rafidī* in "K woprosu o podlinnosti peregiski Rašid ad-dīna", *Westnik Leningradskogo Universiteta*, 1948, No. 9.

¹ Aḥmad Feridūn Bey's *Munša'āt*, compiled in 982/1574–75, were published in two volumes, Istanbul, 1274/1858. According to V. MINORSKY (*El*, first edition, s. v. "Uzūn Ḥasan"), the letters are "very valuable documents and of undoubted authenticity". Cf. Mülkrimin Halil's «فریدون بك منشآت» in *تورک تاریخ انجمنی* – v. 14, pts. 1–6 (Istanbul, 1340/1921) pp. 37–46, 95–104, 216, and 226, where he examines a few early letters of the *Munša'āt* dealing with the period of Orḡān and points out the *taḥrīf* in them.

² Since this was written, a volume of *munšiyyān* material has appeared, edited by 'Abd al-Ḥusain NAWA'I, under the title:

آسناد ومکاتبات تاریخی ایران – از تیمور تا شاه اسمعیل (تهران، بنگاه ترجمه ونشر کتاب، ۱۳۴۱/۱۹۶۳)

The sources for this handsome volume are: (a) *Munša'āt-i Ḥaidar Ev-oḡli*, (b) *Munša'āt-i Feridūn Bey* (see n. 1 above), (c) Three MSS. of the Bibl. Nationale, Paris, and (d) *Munša'āt* – Ḥwāḡa Šihāb ad-Dīn 'Abd Allāh Marvārīd also of the Bibl. Nationale. See introduction to this work, p. 23. More recently, D. ŠABITIVYAN published a work on *munšiyyān* literature entitled: آسناد ونامه‌های تاریخی دوره صفویه، (تهران، ابن سینا، ۱۳۴۳/۱۹۶۵)

The author (and compiler) appears to be primarily interested in the style (*sabk*) of such diplomatic correspondence.

³ See for example the important contribution by Heribert BUSSE: *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen* (an Hand Turkmenischer und Safawidischer Urkunden), Cairo 1959, (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Islamische Reihe, Band 1).

⁴ On travel literature: In addition to the early travellers, Marco Polo, de Clavijo, Afanasy Nikitin, Schiltberger, Bertrandon de la Broquière, and others later travellers such as Pietro della Valle (1586–1652), Tavernier (1605–1689), and Chardin (1643–1713) are useful. Of special importance for our period is Giosafat Barbaro (d. 1494), *Travels to Tana and Persia* (Hakluyt, 1st ser., No. 49, 1873). This volume also contains *A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia in the 15th and 16th Centuries*. For bibliographical information on travel literature during this period see Raphael du Mans (1613–1696), *Etat de la Perse en 1660*, (ed. Ch. SCHEFFER, Paris 1890), and A. GABRIEL, *Die Erforschung Persiens; die Entwicklung der abendländischen Kenntnis der Geographie Persiens*, (Wien 1952), especially section 1, "Die Verläufer", Chapters 4, 5, and 6, p. 32 ff. on Marco Polo, the Timūrid period and the Venetian envoys. In talking about travel literature one must not forget the Muslim travellers such as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*Riḥla*), and Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umārī (*Masālik al-aḥṣār* – only sections of this encyclopedic work have been published to date), whose works are of primary importance for Anatolian history at this period. For an example of the slavish and utterly unjustifiable dependence on such secondary sources as the European travellers, try to read S. N. FISHER, *The Foreign Relations of Turkey, 1481–1512*, (Un. of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1948), Chapter VII, "War with Persia and the Suppression of Heresy, 1500–1511", p. 90 ff.

There is however another type of European material during this period which does deserve more attention. These are the various *relazioni* of the Venetian ambassadors and consuls in the area, chiefly those of the Bailo in Istanbul. The collections of Eugenio Alberi are very useful in this regard¹.

Of this type of literature, and in fact sometimes considerably more important, are the *Diarii* of Marino Sanuto the Younger who most painstakingly put down in 58 volumes of minutely written diaries the happenings of the world drawn from the deliberations of the Venetian Senate². He often supplemented the "official" stories with attempts at getting information on his own. Sanuto's diaries often read like a detailed Ottoman history book in view of the close ties between his country and the Ottoman Empire during the 36 year span of the diaries (between 1498 and 1534). These diaries have not yet been fully utilized in secondary works³.

In modern scholarship, the period under study does not lack its native historians. No attempt shall be made at exhaustiveness, but the works of the Persian scholars 'Abbās IQBĀL, Muḥammad QAZWĪNĪ, and Aḥmad KASRAWĪ; the Iraqi scholar 'Abbās AL-'AZZĀWĪ; and the Turkish doyen of scholars Mehmed Fuad KÖPRÜLÜ, are examples of scholarship that equals if it does not surpass that of their fellow orientalist⁴. Some of the researches of these scholars have unfortunately been neglected.

¹ Eugenio ALBERI (1809-1878), ed., *Relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, 15 volumes: ser. I, v. 1-6; ser. II, v. 1-5; ser. III, v. 1-3, "Relazioni degli stati Ottomani"; and Appendice. See also the documents in Guglielmo BERTHET (1833-1913), *La repubblica di Venezia et la Persia*, (Torino 1865).

² Marino SANUTO (1466-1535), *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, . . . pubblicati per cura di R. FULIN, F. STEFANI, N. BAROZZI, G. BERTHET, (and) M. ALLEGRI, (Venezia 1879-1903), 58 volumes, plus a very useful "Prefazione" done after the work had been published in 1903 by BERTHET.

³ See, however, an article by Fr. BABINGER, "Marino Sanuto's Tagebücher als Quelle zur Geschichte der Safawijja", in T. W. ARNOLD and R. A. NICHOLSON, *A Volume of Oriental Studies Presented to Edward G. Browne* . . . (Cambridge, 1922) pp. 28-50. I have used the *Diarii* as a major source in an unpublished paper on the early period of Šāh Ṭahmāsb.

⁴ 'Abbās IQBĀL's *Tārīḫ-i Muṣaṣṣal-i Irān*, though intended for use primarily as a college textbook, still, for its size, it is a very useful secondary source for the period between the Mongols and Timūr. Its treatment of the post-Mongol dynasties in Irān is comprehensive and balanced. (It is rather unfortunate that IQBĀL did not live to complete his work. Only Volume I is extant, and has recently been reprinted. IQBĀL's articles in the old Persian journal *Yādīgār* are of special importance.

Muḥammad QAZWĪNĪ's *Yād-dāstihā*, recently published in several volumes, were found to be useful on specific points. Aḥmad KASRAWĪ (Tabrizi), to quote V. MINORSKY, ". . . possessed the spirit of a true historian. He was accurate in detail and clear in presentation. Among his accomplishments was a good knowledge of Arabic and Armenian." *Studies in Caucasian History*, p. 3, n. 1. KASRAWĪ was assassinated in Tehran on December 20, 1945, under very suspicious circumstances. M. K. AZĀDA in his *Čirā Kasrawī-rā kušand?* (Tehran 1325/1947), lists as many as 72 published works by KASRAWĪ in Persian, and 4 in Arabic. For a more detailed list of KASRAWĪ's works, showing place of publication, editions, and pages, see Ḥānabābā MUŠĀR, *Mu'allifin-i kutub-i Čāpi-yi Fārsi va 'Arabī*, (Tehran 1340/1962), v. I, cols. 437-446; and for KASRAWĪ's articles (some of which later appeared in book form) see Irağ AFSĀR, *Fihrist-i maqālāt-i Fārsi or Index Iranicus*, Tehran, 1340/1962), Index, s. v. "Kasrawī, Sayyid Aḥmad (Kasrā'ī)". 'Abbās AL-'AZZĀWĪ's *Tārīḫ al-'Irāq bain iḥtilālāin*, in several volumes, is an important secondary source for this period. Although the author avoids making value judgements, his often verbatim quotations from the original authorities - often not easily accessible otherwise - makes his work all the more useful. His quotations from the 15th century MS. *al-Tārīḫ al-Giyāfi* are of particular importance for our purposes. The three volumes used for this work carry the following subtitles: v. 1, *The Mongol government*, 656-738/1258-1338; v. 2, *the Čalāyir government*, 739-814/1338-1411; v. 3, *the Turkmān governments*, 814-941/1411-1534. These three volumes were published in Bagdād, 1935-39. A very good and comprehensive work of a bio-bibliographical nature by AL-'AZZĀWĪ is his *al-Ta'rif bil-mu'arriḫin*, v. I: *The Mongol and Turkmān period*, 601-941/1204-1534, (Bagdād 1376/1957). The work includes very useful information on most of the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish authorities for our period.

M. F. KÖPRÜLÜ's articles in the early volumes of *Türkiyat Mecmuası* are very important for Anatolian history of this period. Ghulam SARWAR's work on Šāh Ismā'īl is another example of sound oriental scholarship.

Among the Western scholars, Edward Granville BROWNE was a pioneer in the field of Persian studies. His *Literary History of Persia* in four volumes shall remain for a long time a standard work in spite of its many shortcomings¹. E. J. W. GIBB's eight volumes on the history of Ottoman poetry is less useful for our purposes but it is very valuable for the Ottoman side of the picture².

However, Vladimir MINORSKY's work on the latter part of this period, i. e. on Turkmān history, stands out by itself as the most accomplished treatment of Iranian history during the fifteenth century. His articles in the *Bulletin* of the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London are a treasure of the most useful and scholarly information on Turkmān affairs³.

Among the German writers, the works of HINZ, BABINGER, CASSEL, SPULER, and ROEMER are of great importance in tackling specific problems of the period⁴. They are done in the best tradition of German scholarship. The French Jean AUBIN, Henri CORBIN, and Claude CAHEN have dealt with specific problems and edited several valuable manuscripts on this field⁵. Finally Vladimir BARTHOLD's work on Central Asia is of great value to the understanding of post-Timūrid times⁶.

In spite of this tremendous wealth of material at our disposal one cannot refrain from saying that much still lies locked up in manuscript collections both in the area and outside. Until this material is brought out, critically edited and studied, our information on post-Mongol pre-Šafawid Irān will remain incomplete.

¹ Volume III deals with the history of Persian literature "under Tartar dominion" from A. D. 1265 to 1502; volume IV is on "modern times" from 1500 to 1924. Attention should be drawn to an often neglected chapter in Browne's volume IV, namely Chapter 8, "The Orthodox Shī'a faith and its exponents, the mujtahids and mullās", pp. 353-411, which contains a cogent, though not very interpretative, summary of Twelver Shī'ism, as well as useful references to the better known Shī'i works.

² In particular Volumes I and II, which cover the period from the origins to 1520 (the end of Sulṭān Selīm's reign).

³ V. MINORSKY's so-called "Turkmenica" articles are listed in *BSOAS*, XVI (1954), 271. Four more are mentioned in the "Foreword" to MINORSKY's *Persia in A.D. 1478-1490*, p. vii, which "small book completes the dozen". See also his "Les études historiques et géographiques sur la Perse", in *Acta Orientalia*, 10 (1932), 278-83; 16 (1938), 49-58; 21 (1950-53), 108-123; and 22 (1957), 105-117 - these being the published forms of four papers read at the 18th, 19th, 21st, and 23rd Orientalist congresses held in Leyden, Rome, Paris, and Cambridge (England) respectively.

⁴ One needs to refer, in this general context, first to Berthold SPULER's *Die Mongolen in Iran: Politik, Verwaltung und Kultur der Ilchanzeit, 1220-1250*, 2nd edition, Berlin, 1955, and particularly to the extensive bibliography (pp. 465-502) which, among other things, lists the Persian, Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, Mongolian, Chaghatay, Greek, Arabic, Chinese, Spanish, Portuguese, Russian, and Hebrew source materials; and secondly to Walter HINZ's pioneer work, *Irans Aufstieg zum Nationalstaat im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, Berlin and Leipzig 1936. (On the problems involved in HINZ's approach to Šafawid history see MINORSKY's comprehensive review of the work in *BSOAS*, IX (1937-9), 239-43; and BAUSANI's comment in *Persia Religiosa*, 410.)

⁵ French scholarship appears to be concentrated on the religious-mystical and social-economic aspects of the history of this period. In addition to the three scholars mentioned in the text above recognition ought also to be made to the recent work on the Naqšbandī Order by the late M. MOLÉ. See for example his "Naqšbandīyāt" in *Farhang-i Irān-zamīn*, VI (1337/1959), 273 ff.

⁶ In this general survey reference needs to be made here to *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia* by BARTHOLD translated from the Russian by V. and T. MINORSKY: v. I (a) A Short History of Turkestan, and (b) History of Semirechye; v. II. Ulughbeg; and v. III. Mīr 'Alī-Shīr. One cannot begin to write on the importance of BARTHOLD's work for Central Asian and, indirectly, for Iranian medieval studies. For other Russian/Soviet scholarship on the Šafawid period, M. B. DICKSON lists the following names: PETRUSHEVSKIY, MIKLUKHO-MAKLAY, GORDLEVSKIY, ALIZADE, ARUNOVA, ARUTYUNYAN, ASHRAFYAN, EFENDIEV, FIL'ROZE, PAPAZYAN, REYSNER, and SHAKHMALIEV. See his "The Fall of the Šafawī Dynasty", a review article of Laurence LOCKHART's book of the same title, *JAOS*, 82 (1962), 503-17.

ŠI'ISM UNDER THE MONGOLS

The religious situation in the Muslim world under the Mongols has not yet been investigated in its entirety¹. The Mongol Hāns remained for a long time uncommitted in religious matters, and there are indications that they toyed with various religious ideas representing Muslim, Christian (Nestorian), and Jewish affiliations. To these should be added the prior religious beliefs of the Mongols in Central Asia – mainly those beliefs deriving from shamanist tradition among the Mongol tribes that moved westwards under Ġingiz-ḥān and later Mongol warrior leaders.

Before any general statements could be made about this subject, and before arriving at any definite conclusions, the whole question of religion under the Mongols and their final acceptance of Islam has to be thoroughly investigated. Only two aspects of this immensely complicated topic will be dealt with in this and the next chapters: one, dealing with certain Muslim scholars who represented "high Islam" during the early Mongol period, and the temporary triumph of *ifnā'aṣarī Ši'ism*; and the second, discussing the rise and early history of one of the leading Šūfī orders during the same period at the level of "folk Islam".

¹ A preliminary attempt to examine the religious question under the Mongols was made by Manūčīhr MURTAZAWI in two articles: «دین و مذهب در عهد ایلخانیان ایران» which appeared in *Našriya-yi Dāniškada-yi Adabīyāt*, Tabriz, X (1337/1959), No. 1, pp. 17–80; and «تکله بر مقاله دین و مذهب در عهد ایلخانیان ایران» which appeared in the same bulletin, XI (1338/1960), No. 2, pp. 160–184. In talking about the "inclination of Gāzān towards Ši'ism" (p. 45 ff.) and the "Ši'ism of Sulṭān Muḥammad Ḥudābanda" (p. 48 ff.), MURTAZAWI uses Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's *Maḡma' at-tawārīḥ* (MS., Malik Library, Tehran) in what appears to be a special *faṣl* on Ši'ism during the Ilḥānid period. (Abrū's work is called *Maḡma' at-tawārīḥ as-Sulṭānī* by Faṣṭḥ of Ḥwāf, and it was concluded in 829–30/1426–27. See BROWNE, *LHP*, III, 425, and RIEU, *Pers. Cat.*, p. 422a. According to *Maḡālis al-Mu'minīn*, 8th *maḡlis*, Abrū was Šāfi'ī. See reference in the former of the two articles by MURTAZAWI, p. 70). Another related article by MURTAZAWI is: «تصوّف در دوره ایلخانیان» which appeared in the same journal, IX (1336/1958), pp. 297–337. MURTAZAWI has since republished all this and additional material in book form which appeared under the title: «تحقیق در باره ایلخانیان ایران (دین و مذهب – تصوّف – تاریخ نویسی – مقلدین شاهنامه)» (Tehran, 1341/1963). Muṣṭafā Ṭāhā BADR discusses one aspect of the religious problems during the Ilḥānid period in his *مفول ایران بین المسيحية والإسلام* (Cairo, Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, n. d.), namely that of the attempts by the West to win over the Mongol *hāns* to Christianity. Both the discussion and the bibliography (pp. 127–130) are most inadequate. The internal picture in Irān at the time is wholly disregarded.

Reference should now be made to Chapter 7, "Religion under the Mongols" (in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Volume 5, *The Saljūq and Mongol Periods*, ed. by J. A. BOYLE, Cambridge, 1968) contributed by A. BAUSANI, Professor of Persian in the Oriental Institute, University of Naples, pp. 538–549. With statements like, "The trend towards Shī'ism in many circles was due above all to mysticism, which at this time revealed many interesting Shī'ī features" (p. 545); and "In any case, Sūfism with a Shī'ī tinge remains the most important feature in Iran at this time, especially in view of later developments" (p. 547). BAUSANI has lent weight to the argument developed in this chapter. BAUSANI's earlier work, *Persia Religiosa: da Zaratustra a Bahā'u'llāh* (Milan, 1959) is a milestone in its genre.

One way in which certain aspects of the religious picture during the Mongol period can be profitably understood is to take certain well-known religious thinkers of the time and examine some of their pertinent works. The representative writers treated in this section are perhaps the most celebrated and, in some cases, the most highly controversial figures in the religious life of the Muslim world during the early part of the period under consideration. Their choice, as will presently appear, is not altogether arbitrary¹.

One of these scholars, al-Ḥasan ibn Yūsuf ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥilli (d. 726/1324-25), whose work has already been referred to in connection with the introduction of *ifnā'aṣarī* Ši'ism in Irān by Šāh Ismā'il², was the most influential Ši'i divine of his time and had great influence at the Mongol court of Sulṭān Ulğaitū Ḥudābanda.

Another, Naṣir ad-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 672/1273), is perhaps better known as an astronomer and ethical philosopher rather than as a religious thinker³, yet he commanded such an important stature at the Mongol court in Baġdād and was so intimately involved with the destruction of Ismā'ilī power at Alamūt that a look into some of his religious views will shed much light on the religious question during the early Mongol period. Ṭūsī's apparently hesitant position between the *ismā'ilī* (severer) and the *ifnā'aṣarī* (twelver) persuasion of Ši'ism makes him all the more significant for our purposes.

On the other hand, a consideration of some of the writings of Ibn Taimiyya (d. 728/1327) – perhaps the most controversial Muslim thinker of the later Middle Ages – will serve to place the ideas of his younger Ši'i contemporaries (Ṭūsī and Ibn al-Muṭahhar) in better perspective. For Ibn Taimiyya's incessant attacks against the *ifnā'aṣarī* views of Ibn al-Muṭahhar and Ṭūsī, the *ismā'ilī* activity of the remnants of the Alamūt enclave, and the extreme (*ġulāt*) excesses of the Nuṣairī sect of Syria, reveal some of the most burning issues in the Muslim world at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries.

As a traditional "neutralist" living in tranquil seclusion between Širāz and Tabriz, Qāḍī Nāṣir ad-Dīn al-Baiḍāwī (d. 685/1286) will serve as an example of the apparent heedlessness of *sunni* orthodoxy to the strong, and often violently conceived and executed, heterodox movements that were in the air. As a Šāfi'i jurist, Baiḍāwī wrote what is still considered one of the best and most authoritative commentaries on the Qur'ān in the *sunni* orthodox tradition.

The four eminent scholars lived in the three or four most important centers of the Muslim world during this period⁴. Ṭūsī was in Baġdād and later at Marāġa in Ādarbaigān where the famous observatory was constructed with Mongol funds to help him with his astronomical studies (and perhaps to reward him for his services in assisting Hulagu to capture the Ismā'ilī

¹ For a list of the names of 51 '*ulamā*' under the high Ilḫānid period, see the letter sent by Raḥīd ad-Dīn Faḍl Allāh to his son Amīr 'Alī, governor of Baġdād, specifying government "subsidies" (in the form of currency, clothing, and beasts of burden) to be granted to each of them. The letter, as well as the representative '*ulamā*' listed in it, is worthy of a special study which should throw very useful light on the religious activity during the Mongol period. Among those listed: Quṭb ad-Dīn Širāzi, Baiḍāwī, 'Aḍuḍ ad-Dīn Iḡī and his brother, a son of Naṣir ad-Dīn Ṭuṣī, and Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥilli. *Mukātabāt-i Raḥīdī*, letter No. 19, pp. 56-69.

² See Chapter I, p. 6 above.

³ The reference here is to Ṭūsī's work on astronomy, the *Ziğ-i Ilḫānī* and to his *Ahlāq-i Nāṣirī* (which has been better known in Dawwānī's recension the *Ahlāq-i Ġalālī* made for Uzūn Ḥasan Aq-qoyunlu; translated by W. T. THOMPSON as the *Practical Philosophy of the Muhammedan People*, London 1839). A translation of Ṭūsī's *Ahlāq*, under the title *The Nasirean Ethics*, done by G. M. WICKENS of Toronto University, is now available in English (London 1964).

⁴ Two other scholars have been considered in this chapter since their work bears close relation to the material discussed. These are the 15th century leading *Sunni* author Faḍl Allāh ibn Rūzbihān Ḥunḡī, and the 16th-17th great *ifnā'aṣarī* Ši'i biographer and polemist Qāḍī Nūr Allāh Sūṭarī. Facts on their lives and works will be mentioned below, p. 30 ff.

fortress of Alamūt and the 'Abbāsid capital of Bagdād). Ibn al-Muṭahhar, whose *nisba* al-Hilli indicates an origin at the Šī'i holy places in southern Iraq, spent his active life between Bagdād and the Mongol capital of Sulṭāniya¹ in Irāq-i 'Aḡam. Ibn Taimiya was at Damascus all his life except for one or two short trips to Cairo where he was to answer charges made against him to the Mamlūk Sulṭān and the central government. Qāḍī al-Baiḍāwī, as was stated above, lived between Šīrāz and Tabriz – his birthplace al-Baiḍā being south of Šīrāz.

These four religious thinkers knew much about each other and about what each one did or was doing. They often corresponded²; they were contemporaries living within a generation or two of each other. Some of their works in which they discussed many of the burning questions of the time, and in which each one of them was interested, will be reviewed in the course of this chapter. A comparative study of them will help give a clearer picture of the religious questions at the beginning of our period.

1. Naṣīr ad-Dīn Ṭūsī

Among Ṭūsī's lesser known works is a short treatise on *imāma*³, in which he undertakes "to write a short essay on the definition (*ma'rifa*) of the third pillar of the *uṣūl* of religion namely a discussion on the imāmate of the righteous *imāms*"⁴. Ṭūsī's treatise is in the form of five

¹ Built by Arḡūn-hān and enlarged to become capital by Ulḡaitū. See MINORSKY, "Sulṭāniya", in *EI*, first ed.; Faṣḥī, *Muḡmal*, III, 13-14 (year 704/1304-5); and Mirḥwānd, *Rauḍat as-ṣafā*, V, 427. Sulṭāniya was still a capital city under Šāh Ismā'īl who spent part of the winter of 912/1506-7 in it. See Šaraf-hān Bidlīsī, *Šarafnāma*, II, 126. (However, at the end of the 16th century, Bidlīsī tells us that the city had been destroyed and had nothing except remnants of its walls. *Ibid.*, II, 25.)

² On correspondence between Ibn al-Muṭahhar and Baiḍāwī, for example, see *Nāma-yi Dānišwarān-i Nāṣiri*, VIII, 140; Ḥwānsārī, *Rauḍat al-ḡannāt*, gloss p. 175; and Maḡlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, I, 214-15 of the introduction. Maḡlisī (*ibid.*, I, 211) also mentions that Ibn al-Muṭahhar read *kalām* with Ṭūsī, and the latter read *fiqh* with Ibn al-Muṭahhar.

³ Published under the title *Risāla-yi Imāmat* as part of a collection of short works by Ṭūsī, which appeared in 1335/1956 on the occasion of the 7th centenary of the death of the great thinker. Our *Risāla* is No. 302 of Tehran University Publications (Intiṣārāt-i Dāniṣgāh-i Tihirān), and is edited by Muḥammad Taqī Dāniṣpāzūh. The others in the collection are Nos. 296, 298, 300, 301, 302, 304, 307, and 308 of the same series. Each work is individually paginated. For MSS. of the *Risāla* (which is not listed in KANTŪRĪ or BROCKELMANN) see the introduction to the present edition, and Muḥammad Taqī Mudarris RAḠAWĪ, *Aḥwāl-o-āfār . . . Ṭūsī*, Tehran University publications No. 282, (Tehran, 1334/1955), pp. 51 and 198-99. Two other works by Ṭūsī contain sections on *imāma* which bear close resemblance to the text of the *Risāla* under discussion. These are: *Fuṣūl-i Ḥwāḡa-yi Ṭūsī* (Tehran University Publications No. 298 - Persian and Arabic texts printed side by side), pp. 34-41, section entitled *nubuwwat-o-imāmat*; and *Taghrīd al-'aḡd'id* (or *al-halām*), section 4 "*fi n-nubuwwa*" and section 5 "*fi l-imāma*". (For details on Ṭūsī's *Fuṣūl* and for various *ṣurūḥ* on them see Mudarris RAḠAWĪ, *ibid.*, 249-53. For commentaries, glosses, and super-glosses on the *Taghrīd*, see *GAL*, I, 670-72 and *Suppl.*, I, 925-27, and Mudarris RAḠAWĪ, *ibid.*, 241-45. The best known commentary on Ṭūsī's *Taghrīd* is IBN AL-MUṬAHHAR'S *Kaṣf al-murād fi ṣarḥ taghrīd al-i'tiqād*, (Qum, 1372/1952); see particularly section 5, pp. 225-250.)

⁴ Ṭūsī wrote chiefly in Persian, but many of his works were translated into Arabic for the benefit of the scholars in Iraq. Mudarris RAḠAWĪ (*ibid.*, 260) quotes the following:

«چون اکثر مؤلفات وی (یعنی نصیر الدین طوسی) که برای ولایت و حکام زمان خود و بر حسب درخواست آنان ساخته و پرداخته بفارسی است، و از این جهت نفیض عام نبود و نزدیک طلاب عراق مشهور نگشته بود برای آنکه دیگران نیز از آن کتب منتفع گردند بر آن شدم که آنچه از کتب فارسی او را بدست آوردم بهری ترجمه کنم».

(From the introduction to a translation of Ṭūsī's *Awsāf al-aṣrāf*, done by Rukn ad-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Gurḡānī/Gurgānī, a student of Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Hilli. Rukn ad-Dīn translated also Ṭūsī's *Fuṣūl*, *Asās al-iqtibās*, *Aḥlāq*, and others.)

⁵ Ṭūsī, *Risāla*, 13:

تحریر رساله وجیزه فی معرفه الرکن الثالث من أصول الدین وهو الکلام فی إمامة الطاهرين».

questions which according to him cover all the aspects relating to the subject of *imāma*¹. His answers to these questions are very brief and succinct, almost cryptical. The first four questions do not interest us much here; the fifth, however, is rather crucial. For it is in the answer to "Who is the rightful *imām*?" that a person has to commit himself one way or the other (i. e., between the *sunni* or *šī'i* views). Ṭūsī does this very aptly and syllogistically: "The unanimity (*iğmā'*) of the entire people of the world is right; i. e., the ideal is to have universal and total unanimity. If they disagree, the right is that upon which the people of Islam by themselves are unanimous. If the people of Islam disagree (among themselves), the right is that upon which the righteous people (*ahl al-ḥaqq*) are unanimous. These are they who believe in unity or oneness (i. e. *tauhīd*), justice, prophecy, and the *imāmate* on the basis stipulated by reason and confirmed by tradition. If you know this you should also know that people have disagreed on this matter. Some said that there was no need for the *imām* at all. Others maintained that the people should (among themselves) appoint an *imām*. And others believed that the appointment of the *imām* is a duty from God. Enough has been said to prove the correctness of those who hold to the last view, and the error of the others."²

Having thus singled out that group among Muslims with whom the right is, Ṭūsī goes on to talk specifically about the appointment of the rightful *imām*. So he says: "They (the Muslim community) disagreed on the question of the appointment of the *imām*. The last group, which believed that the appointment of the *imām* is a duty from God, have maintained that the *imāms* are twelve certain ones from the family of the Prophet. The others maintained other ones each to his own group. You have learned, however, that the truth should be among the whole people. Therefore, since those who believe that the appointment of the *imām* is not obligatory are in error, the truth of the views of the *īḡnā'ašaris* becomes evident."³

After establishing in this way the correct position of the *šī'i* Twelvers regarding the appointment of the *imām*, Ṭūsī tackles again very briefly and to the point, another highly controversial matter, namely that of the infallibility (*'iṣma*) of the *imām*. Certain Muslims, he says, believe that '*iṣma* is the necessary attribute to the *imām*, while the rest have denied this. Those who maintained it adopted the views of the *īḡnā'ašaris*, and the others adopted other views. It has been shown that the truth was with them there (i. e., with the *īḡnā'ašaris* regarding the appointment of the *imām*), so it must be with them here (i. e., regarding his '*iṣma*). Otherwise, the *umma* would be unanimous on error and falsehood⁴.

In this way Ṭūsī has maintained the views of the *šī'i* Twelvers regarding the appointment by God of the *imām*, as well as the *imām*'s infallibility. He then raises a few questions one of

Referring to the *imāmate* as the "third pillar" is difficult to explain. With Šī'is, *imāma* is considered second only to *nubuwwa*. The Orthodox schools treat the *imāmate* as one of the *furā'*.

The name of the questioner who had asked Ṭūsī to write the treatise is given as 'Alī ibn Nāmāwar, who is curiously further described as "one of the (members of?) *lḡwān aṣ-ṣafā'*" – an appellation with possible Ismā'īlī overtones. On the relations between the *lḡwān* and the Ismā'īlīs see B. LEWIS, *The Origins of Ismā'īlism*, 17, 44, 50, and 94. (However, using the words "*lḡwān aṣ-ṣafā'*" could be for *sağ* purposes, riming with "*ḡawī al-'ahd wal-wafā'*").

¹ The questions are reduced to five short interrogative particles: What? Is? Why? How? and Who? The full questions are then expressed roughly as follows: *What* is the *imām*? (i. e. the meaning of the term in accordance with usage (*'urf*) and convention). *Is* the *imām* always in existence, or does he exist only at certain times? or never? *Why* should there be an *imām*? i. e. the condition that requires his presence. *How* is the *imām*? i. e. the qualities that he should possess. And finally, *who* is the *imām*? i. e. who should be the *imām* in the time of the hegemony of Muslim law? Ṭūsī *Risāla*, 15.

Translating Ṭūsī's language is not always an easy matter. Clarity has sometimes to be sacrificed for exactness. It is the philosopher who is writing rather than the religious exponent.

²⁻⁴ Ṭūsī, *Risāla*, 23.

which is of special interest since it touches directly upon the beliefs of the other great sector of šī'i Islam, namely the Seveners (*sab'iyūn*). "If someone says," Ṭūsī goes on, "that the Seveners too believe that the *imām* is appointed by God, and that he does not commit reprehensible acts, and therefore they (the Seveners) also should be in the right, . . . I reply . . . that the Seveners have dissociated themselves from the Muslim community by claiming the eternity of bodies (*qidam al-ağsām*) and other myths. In denying the defection from duty and the committing of reprehensible acts from the *imām*, they do not (specifically) say that the *imām* does not choose to do such acts, but they say rather that all actions of the *imām* are acts of obedience (i. e. to God) whether these be the telling of falsehoods, despotism, the drinking of wine, or adultery. Since their views are manifestly wrong," Ṭūsī concludes, "we have not taken them into consideration with the other statements."¹

This condemnation of the views of the Seveners is not easy to explain since it has been maintained that Ṭūsī did at some time entertain certain Ismā'īlī ideas and beliefs². Some of his works were written from an Ismā'īlī point of view where he does speak of *bāṭinī* and *zāhirī* aspects of knowledge³. The story of how Ṭūsī was for sometime a captive of the Ismā'īlīs and of how he assisted the Mongols in capturing the Alamūt stronghold is too well-known to deserve repeating here⁴. It will be sufficient here to present the judgement of a well-known Ṭūsī scholar who said that his "political attitude was determined by his strong sympathy with the Twelvers, which made him . . . a leader of the Iranian-Šī'a oligarchy on the Mongol side against the Caliphate"⁵.

¹ *Ibid.*, 23-24.

² Ṭūsī's celebrated work, *Ahlāq-i Nāṣiri*, was written at the request of Nāṣir ad-Dīn Muḥtašam the governor of Qūhistān under the Ismā'īlī ruler 'Alā' ad-Dīn Muḥammad. In an earlier preface to the work Ṭūsī praises his patron; later he withdraws his former praises "of those infidel rulers, and orders the former preface to be cancelled". ETHÉ, *Cat. of the Persian MSS.*, I, No. 2155, cols. 1181-2. On Ṭūsī and the Ismā'īlīs of Qūhistān see also 'Abbās IQBAL, *Tārīḫ*, 501-2.

³ See for example W. IVANOW, "An Ismailitic work by Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī", *JRAS* (1931), 527-64. See also DĀNİŠPAZŪH, «گفتاری از خواجه طوسی بروش باطنیان» in *Mağalla-yi Dāniškada-yi Adabiyat of Tehran University*, III (1335/1957), No. 4, pp. 82-88, where he quotes Ṭūsī as saying (p. 83):

در علوم حقیق روشن شده است که وراء عالم محسوس عالمی دیگر هست معقول که نسبت آن عالم باین چوین نسبت جان با تن باشد. و از اینجاست که آنرا عالم روحانی میگویند و این را عالم جسمانی. و بپایه محسوس درین عالم معقول در آن عالم است، و مقابل هر شخص ازینجا روحی در آنجا، و نظیر هر ظاهری اینجا باطنی آنجا . . .

⁴ This incident, however, does not call for E. G. BROWNE's simple judgement (in *LHP*, II, 457) that Ṭūsī was a "double-dyed traitor"; nor, for that matter, ARBERRY's remark that Naṣīr ad-Dīn chose "quiescent prosperity" under the Mongols rather than "freedom in exile" which Ġalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī preferred! See A. J. ARBERRY, *Classical Persian Literature*, (London 1958), p. 26.

⁵ R. STROTHMANN, "al-Ṭūsī", *EI*, first ed.; see also his *Die Zwölfer Schī'a*, (Leipzig 1926). For a more recent summation of STROTHMANN's views on the subject see his "Schīiten und Charidschiten" in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, VIII/2, (Leiden and Köln 1961), 476-495. Cf. Henri LAOUST, *Essai sur . . . b. Ta'imīya*, (Cairo 1939), p. 36, where he accepts Ṭūsī as "... représentant profondément convaincu de la doctrine duodecimaine . . ."

⁶ 'Abbās AL-'AZZĀWĪ's judgement of Ṭūsī (in his comments about an article on Naṣīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī, written by Sulaimān Dāhīr in the *Journal of the Arabic Language Academy of Damascus*, v. 36, pp. 241-47) is very sweeping. He says: لن الضرورى أن نقول أنه (أي نصير الدين الطوسي) اسماعيل مع الاسماعيلية ويتصوّف مع غلاة التصوّف.

وَنَصِيرِي مع النصيرية وإثنا عشرى مع الإثني عشرية. وَزَيْد أنه متكلم مع أهل السنة من المتكلمين إلّا في الإمامة فإنه خالف فيها أهل السنة. See his "Ta'liq 'alā maqāl Naṣīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī", in *Mağallat al-Mağma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī*, v. 37, No. 2, (Damascus, April 1962), pp. 207-215.

⁷ 'Azzāwī's compatriot, the Iraqi scholar Muṣṭafā ĠAWLĀD, in a recent article attempts to rehabilitate Ṭūsī and explain some of the motives in his relations with the Ismā'īlīs, the caliphate in Bagdād, and with

Ṭūsī's treatise on the imāmate ends with a short reference to the *mahdī*, an important aspect of Šī'ī doctrine: "As to the disappearance (*ga'iba*) of the Twelfth Imām and the length of its duration, it should not be far-fetched among those who believe that God is Almighty and Omniscient."¹

Giving his short but definite views on three of the most basic tenets of Twelver Šī'ism (i. e., the imāmate, the infallibility of the *imām*, and Mahdism), Našīr ad-Dīn Ṭūsī places himself right in the middle of the *īḡnā'ašārī* tradition. On this basis, he may be considered as a major link between the older Šī'ī master, his fellow countryman, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭūsī, *Saiḥ aṭ-Ṭā'ifa* (d. 458/1066), and later Šī'ī divines². He earned for himself in the long line of Šī'ī scholars the title of *al-Muḥaqqiq*³.

2. Ibn al-Muṭahhar, Ibn Taimiya, Ḥunḡī and Šūstārī

Ṭūsī's student and the next scholar to be dealt with in this general view is Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Hillī⁴.

Ibn al-Muṭahhar was responsible, perhaps more than any other single person, in perpetrating the cause of Twelver Šī'ism during the Mongol Ilḡānid times. His life span (648–726/1250–1325), covering as it does the last half century of the thirteenth and the first quarter of the fourteenth century, almost coincided with the period of Ilḡānid hegemony in Irān⁵.

Hulagu. ĠAWĀD stresses Ṭūsī's humanitarian outlook and tolerance; however, he died an *imāmi*. See ĠAWĀD's article: «اهتمام نصير الدين الطوسي بإحياء الثقافة الإسلامية أيام المغول», in *Yadnāmā-yi Ḥwāḡa Našīr ad-Dīn Ṭūsī*, v. I, (Tehran 1336/1957), Publications of Tehran University, No. 416, pp. 86–115; (Added t.-p.: *Le Mémorial de Khwadjah Nassir al-din Toussi*, v. I, Conférences . . . 27 Mai – 2 Juin, 1956).

¹ Ṭūsī, *Risāla*, 24.

² Abū Ġa'far Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭūsī, *Saiḥ aṭ-Ṭā'ifa* (d. 458/1066), is known as the author of two of the Šī'ī "four books", namely *al-Istibṣār* and *Tahḡīb al-aḡḡām* (the other two are: al-Kulainī's *al-Kāfi* and Ibn Bābawayh's *Man lā yaḡḡurukū al-faḡīḥ*). He also wrote the well-known *Fihrist kutub al-Šī'a*, ed. A. SPRENGER, Calcutta, 1853. On Muḥ. ibn al-Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭūsī see *GAL*, I, 512–13, and Muḥammad aṭ-Tunakābunī, *Qīṣaṣ al-'ulamā*, (Tehran, n. d.), pp. 414–16.

³ According to his will Ṭūsī was buried in the shrine of the seventh Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim. See Ḥwānda-mīr, *Ḥabīb as-siyar*, III, 106:

«در جامع رشیدی مسطور است که خواجه نصیر الدین وصیت فرمود که او را در جوار مزار فیض آثار امام بزرگوار موسی الکاظم علیه السلام دفن کنند».

According to 'Azzāwī (*Tārīḥ*, I, 278), the tomb in which Ṭūsī was buried had originally been intended for the caliph an-Nāšīr. See also the long entry in Šūstārī, *Maḡālis*, 328–31, on Ṭūsī, where further reference is made to Ṭūsī's burial at the Šī'ī shrine.

A summary of his *Aḡlāq* was commissioned in high Ṣafawid time by Šāh Ṣaḡfī (1039–52/1629–42); and a short collection of prayers on the Twelve Imāms (*Dawūdīdah-i Imām-i Ḥwāḡa Našīr*) is still in manuscript form in Mašhad. See Mudarris Raẓāwī, *Aḡwāl-o-Āḡār*, 259 and 317–18.

⁴ To give him his full name and some of the titles, he was known as: «العلامة آية الله جمال الدين الحسن بن يوسف بن عل بن المطهر الحلبي» (648–726/1250–1325).

⁵ Two other famous Šī'ī scholars ought perhaps to be mentioned at this point, one belonging to the same period as that of Ibn al-Muṭahhar, and the other to the next generation. The former is Ġa'far ibn al-Ḥasan al-Hillī, "al-Muḥaqqiq al-awwal"; on him see above, p. 1, n. 2, and below, p. 28, n. 2. The latter is Muḥammad ibn MAKKI al-'Āmilī, "aš-Šahīd al-awwal, al-'allāma aṭ-ṭānī", who was put to death in Damascus in 786/1384; on him see *GAL*, II, 131, and *Suppl.*, II, 131–2 (BROCKELMANN gives his death date as 782/1380). Tunakābunī, *Qīṣaṣ al-'ulamā*, 337–42, Šūstārī, *Maḡālis*, 241, and Muḥammad Riḡā Šams ad-Dīn, *Ḥayāt al-Imām aš-Šahīd al-Awwal*, (an-Naḡaf, 1376/1957); and below, p. 66 ff.

In a letter from Rašīd ad-Dīn Faḡl Allāh to his son Amr 'Alī, governor of Baḡdād, Ibn al-Muṭahhar is listed among 51 'ulamā who were to receive bounties from the Mongol court. He is assigned 2,000 dinars, a fur cloak, and a horse and saddle. Similar things are given to Baiḡāwī, Īḡī, and others. See *Muḡāṭabāt-i Rašīdī*, letter No. 19, pp. 56–69.

Reference has already been made in the introductory chapter of this work to Ibn al-Muṭahhar's *Qawā'id al-Islām*, which was the only book on Twelver Ši'ism to be found when Šāh Ismā'il established the new religion in Irān¹. A work carrying this specific title, however, could not be found among the many works of Ibn al-Muṭahhar².

A comprehensive analysis of Ibn al-Muṭahhar's views and his place in šī'i literature and the šī'i world in general is best gained from a consideration of two of his most controversial works. This will give us a more significant insight into the religious problems involved during the early part of the period which we are considering, as well as the repercussions during the high fifteenth century.

The first work, *Minhāğ al-karāma fī ma'rifa al-imāma*, was refuted by none other than Ibn Taimiyya, the great contemporary and bitter opponent of Ibn al-Muṭahhar³. The second, *Nağğ al-ḥaqq*, was refuted violently by Faḍl Allāh ibn Rūzbihān Ḥunḡi, the great 15th century Aq-qoyunlu *sunni* scholar, whose refutation was in turn later refuted by the equally famous šī'i author Qāḍi Nūr Allāh Šuštari during the next century.

¹ See Chapter I, p. 6.

² BROCKELMANN lists two works carrying the title *Qawā'id al-Islām*, one by 'Izz ad-Dīn as-Sulamī (d. 661/1262), and the other by an Ibāḍī author; *GAL*, Suppl. I, 767, and Suppl. II, 349. al-Ḥwānsārī, *Rauḍat al-ğannāt*, 172, mentions 70-90 works by Ibn al-Muṭahhar. It could be that the book in question was known by another name, a phenomenon not very uncommon in Muslim books particularly those of a religious character, where later commentators would often refer to earlier books by either shorter or slightly different titles. Among Ibn al-Muṭahhar's works is one carrying the title *Qawā'id al-aḥḥām*; *GAL*, II, 211, and *Suppl.*, II, 207 (lith. Tehran, 1329/1911). Āgā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, II, 496, and Kantūri, *Kaṣf*, 417. Another work has the title *al-Aḥḥām aṣ-ṣar'iya 'alā mağhab al-Imāmiyya*; *GAL*, II, 211, and *Suppl.*, II, 208. It is also possible that ascribing the *Qawā'id al-Islām* to Ibn al-Muṭahhar was wrong to begin with, and the work may very well be by an equally famous šī'i Twelver scholar and Ibn al-Muṭahhar's own uncle and teacher, Ġa'far ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ḥilli, "al-Muḥaqqiq al-Awwal", (d. 676/1277), who is also the author of an important work on *imāmi* law called *Ṣarā'i' al-Islām*. (Nağm ad-Dīn Ġa'far ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Yaḥyā ibn Sa'id al-Ḥilli, "al-Muḥaqqiq al-Awwal", was born in Ḥilla in 602/1205, and died in Bağdād in 676/1277. For his works see *GAL*, I, 514-15 and *Suppl.* I, 711-12. On him see also Tunakābunī, *Qışaṣ al-'ulamā*, 364-67, where his death is given as 726/1325. See also above Chapter I, p. 1, n. 2. His book the *Ṣarā'i' al-Islām* was translated by A. QUERRY as *Droit Musulman, Recueil des lois concernant les musulmans schyites*, 2 volumes, (Paris 1871-1872); the translator was French Consul in Tabriz. A summary of *Ṣarā'i' al-Islām*, under the title of *al-Muḥtaṣar an-naṣfi fī fiqh al-Imāmiyya*, was published in Cairo (2nd ed., 1377/1957-58). Indeed, a well-known work by Ibn al-Muṭahhar, called *al-Bāb al-ḥādī'aṣar* (well-known on account of the availability of William MILLER's English translation, *al-Bābu 'l-Ḥādī 'Ashar: a treatise on the principles of Shi'ite theology*, London, the Royal Asiatic Society, 1928) could very well be the same *Qawā'id al-Islām* under another title. This work was an addition ("the eleventh chapter") by Ibn al-Muṭahhar to a summary which he made of one of Naṣīr ad-Dīn Ṭūsī's works. (Ṭūsī's work is *Miṣbāḥ al-muğtaḥid*, and Ibn al-Muṭahhar's summary is entitled *Minhāğ al-salāḥ*, in 10 chapters. See MILLER, *op. cit.*, Introduction, xi, and Commentary on the text, 3.)

³ The work was brought to Ibn Taimiyya's attention in Damascus where it must have found some sympathetic readers. See LAOUST, *Essai sur . . . b. Taimiyya*, 36-37. Ibn Taimiyya's refutation according to its summarizer aḍ-Ḍahabī (al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Uṭmān, 673-748/1274-1348; on him see article by Moh. BEN CHENEB/J. DE SOMOGYI in *EI*, new edition, s. v.; his summary is entitled *al-Muntağā min . . .*, ed. by Muḥibb ad-Dīn al-Ḥaṭīb, Cairo, 1374/1954), one of Ibn Taimiyya's more famous students, carries the title *Minhāğ al-i'tidāl fī naqḍ ḥalām ahl al-raṣḍ wa-al-i'tisāl*. Ibn Taimiyya's original work was published under the title *Minhāğ as-sunna an-nabawiyya fī naqḍ ḥalām al-Šī'a wa al-qadariyya*, Cairo, Bulaq, 4 volumes, 1321/1903. Ibn Taimiyya rarely gave titles to his works; see aḍ-Ḍahabī, *al-Muntağā*, 17, n. 1. Ibn al-Muṭahhar's *Minhāğ al-karāma* was composed for the Mongol Ḥān Ulğaitū: (أي بالكتاب) خدمت به . . .

خزاة السلطان الأعظم ملك ملوك طوائف العرب والعجم شاهنشاه غياث الملة والدين خداينده.

aḍ-Ḍahabī, *Muntağā*, 25. The full text of the dedication appears to have been tampered with and shortened by aḍ-Ḍahabī, who in his own introduction (pp. 17-24 of the published edition) are by aḍ-Ḍahabī, the summary proper begins on p. 25) dismisses Ibn al-Muṭahhar's work and his views and the views of his co-religionists as follows:

Ibn al-Muṭahhar's *Minhāḡ al-karāma* is a work on *imāma* written for "the king of the kings of the Arab and Persian peoples", the Mongol Ilḡānīd Sulṭān Ulḡaitū Ḥudābanda¹. It is in five parts: the first on *imāma* according to the various schools, the second on the necessity to follow the *imāmī* school in this respect, the third on the proofs of the imāmate of 'Alī, the fourth on the Twelve Imāms, and the fifth on the invalidation of the caliphates of Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uṭmān².

Ibn al-Muṭahhar's opening statement that the question of *imāma* is the most important in religious matters and the most notable subject to all Muslims receives the following retort from Ibn Taimiya: "His statement that the question of *imāma* is the most important subject is a lie by the unanimous view (*iḡmā'*) of all Muslims, for belief (*imān*) is more important."³

Ibn Taimiya proceeds to prove his point by the usual references to Qur'ānic and Hadīṡ quotations⁴. He then recounts a meeting he had once with one of the *imāmīs*, and ridicules the *imāmī* view on Mahdism: "You and I are students of religious science, of truth, and of proper guidance. The *imāmīs* say that he who does not believe in the awaited one (*al-mahdī*) is an unbeliever (*kāfir*). Have you seen him? Or have you seen anyone who saw him? Or do you know any of his sayings? . . . You demand (allegiance) to a child of three or five who

وَقُلْتُ مَرَقَهُم بِالْدينِ وَالْعِلْمِ . . . وَقَدْ دَخَلَ مِنْهُمْ عَلَى الدِّينِ فساد ما لا يحصى إِلَّا رَبَّ الْعِبَاد، وَالنَّصِيرِيَّةَ وَالْإِسْمَاعِيلِيَّةَ وَالْبَاطِنِيَّةَ مِنْ بَاهِمٍ دَخَلُوا وَالْكَفَّارَ وَالْمُرْتَدَّةَ بِطَرِيقِهِمْ وَصَلُوا، فَاسْتَوْلُوا عَلَى بِلَادِ الْإِسْلَامِ وَسَبَّوْا الْحَرِيمَ وَفَسَكُوا الدَّمَ الْحَرَامَ.

(aḡ-Ḍahabī, *Muntaḡā*, 18).

aḡ-Ḍahabī goes on in his condemnation by saying that the *rafiḡīs* (a general term which often covers all non-Orthodox Muslims; here the intention is for the followers of Ibn al-Muṭahhar, i. e. the *ifnā'aṣarīs*) are similar to the Jews in their deceit and capriciousness, and like the Christians in their extremism (*ḡu-luwu*) and ignorance. Among Ibn al-Muṭahhar's predecessors he lists Naṣīr ad-Dīn Ṭūsī. Compared to them (i. e. to the *ifnā'aṣarīs*), he adds, the Ḥawāriḡ are the most truthful people. The Šī'ī practice of *taḡiyya* (dissimulation) is understood by aḡ-Ḍahabī as pure and simple hypocrisy (*niṣāḡ*); Ḍahabī, *Muntaḡā*, 20, 22. In his refutation of Ibn al-Muṭahhar's work, Ibn Taimiya – as is customary in works of this nature – quotes the original text in paragraphs and sections, and then begins his comments by pointing out the errors which in his opinion the author had fallen into. From these quotations the original work can thus be restored and reconstructed. (Ibn Taimiya's *Minhāḡ as-Sunna* was not available for consultation, and so references throughout will be to aḡ-Ḍahabī's *Muntaḡā*. A recent edition of *Minhāḡ as-Sunna* (Cairo 1964-) contains the text of Ibn al-Muṭahhar's *Minhāḡ al-karāma* given separately at the beginning.)

¹ The period of the Ilḡānīd Sulṭān Ulḡaitū Ḥudābanda (703–716/1304–1316) was active in religious and theological discussions. His grand vizīr, Raṣīd ad-Dīn Faḡl Allāh wrote the *Fawā'id-i Sulṭāniyya*, which are "his conversations with the Ilḡān Ulḡaitū concerning religious and philosophical questions"; TOGAN, "The Composition of the History of the Mongols . . .", *Central Asian Journal*, VII, I (1962), p. 60. According to TOGAN (*ibid.*, 62) the *Fawā'id* "represents the theology of the period of Ulḡaitū, who was wholeheartedly engaged in various theological discussions." On the Šī'ī situation in general during the reign of Ulḡaitū, see SPULER, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, 190–91. Ulḡaitū had a mobile school which moved with the royal train. Ibn al-Muṭahhar wrote some of his works at this school. See Ḥwānsārī, *Rauḡat al-Gannā'i*, 176, and Ibn al-Muṭahhar, *Kitāb al-alfain al-fāriḡ bain as-ṣiḡḡ wa l-main*, (Naḡaf, 1372/1952), v. I, Introduction, and v. II, p. 184. See also 'Umarī, *Masālik* (in Klaus LECH, *Das Mongolische Weltreich*), p. 98:

«وَمِنْ عَادَةِ هَذَا السُّلْطَانِ (أَبِي أَرْجَانْتَرِ خُدَابَنْدَه) أَنْ يَصْبَحَ فِي الْأُرْدُو وَفِي كُلِّ حَلٍّ وَمَرْتَحَلٍ أَحْيَانًا مِنَ الْعُلَمَاءِ وَالْمُتَرَشِّعِينَ بِرَوَائِبِ جَارِيَّاتِ حَلِّ السُّلْطَانِ، وَمَعَ كُلِّ مِنْهُمْ لِقَاءٌ وَطَلَبَةٌ، وَهَؤُلَاءِ هُمُ الْمُسْتَوْنُ بِمَدْرَسَةِ السِّيَارَةِ».

² Ibn Taimiya/aḡ-Ḍahabī, p. 25.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Ibn Ḥaḡar al-'Asqalānī, the 15th century Šāfi'ī jurist, in his biography of Ibn al-Muṭahhar (*ad-Durar al-Kāmina*, II, 71), comments briefly on Ibn Taimiya's refutation of Ibn al-Muṭahhar's work and says that Ibn Taimiya acquitted himself well, "but he carried his arguments too far in several places by refuting certain *ḥadīṡs* which are in fact existent albeit of poor authority which Ibn Taimiya said were fabricated or spurious". Ibn Taimiya's work is here referred to by its more popular title: *ar-Radd 'alā r-rafiḡī*.

entered a tunnel four hundred and sixty years ago . . . while we have been ordered to obey existing and known *imāms* who exercise temporal power . . ."¹

Every statement of the original work is taken and fully discussed and finally refuted on the authority of other *ḥadīṡs*. These statements include such things as the excessive reverence by the Ši'is of the tombs and of *ḫi'ī* holy men "so much so that some of them consider the pilgrimage to these shrines more important than the pilgrimage to Mecca" (p. 51, also 158-159); the problems of the attributes of God and his names (p. 80 ff.); the views of Naṣir ad-Dīn Ṭūsī are also attacked (p. 107)²; the question of predestination (p. 129); the position of Mu'āwīya and the Umayyads vs. the Ši'a (p. 252); the issue of the infallibility of the *imām* (p. 415 ff., and *passim*); the question of the famous *ḥadīṡ* of Ḥumm and the family of the Prophet, '*itra*' (p. 475)³; and matters relating to the collusion between the Mongols and the Ši'a and the assistance by the latter in the surrender of Bagdād and the involvement of Naṣir ad-Dīn Ṭūsī in this matter (pp. 325-27); and others.

In one of his less violent moods, however, Ibn Taimīya sums up what the real attitude of a *sunni* Muslim is towards the followers of heterodox principles: "Among the *rāfiḍīs* are those who are pious, devout, and ascetic; but they are not – despite these qualities – like the followers of other sects. The Mu'tazilites, for example, are more reasonable, more knowledgeable, and more religious; among them lying and immorality are less than among the *rāfiḍīs*. The Zaidī Ši'a are better and closer to truth, justice, and the knowledge of religious science. There is no group among the sects who is more truthful and more devout than the Ḥārīgites, and in spite of that (i. e., in spite of their enmity to Orthodox Muslims) the people of the Sunna treat them with justice and equity, and do not molest them, for injustice is prohibited in the absolute . . . Indeed, the people of the Sunna are better to every one of these sects than they are to each other. In fact, the Sunnis are better and more just to the *rāfiḍīs* than some of the *rāfiḍī* groups are to each other."⁴

With this perhaps most balanced statement of the book we leave Ibn Taimīya⁵ and go on to consider the other work of Ibn al-Muṭahhar, namely the *Nahḡ al-ḥaqq*.

Ibn al-Muṭahhar's *Nahḡ*, like the first work just discussed, was also composed upon the orders of the Mongol Sulṭān Ulḡaitū⁶. After a short introduction Ibn al-Muṭahhar begins immediately to discuss the first problem, that of reason (*idrāk*)⁷. However, Faḍl Allāh Ibn Rūzbihān Ḥunḡī⁸, as well as Qāḍī Nūr Allāh Šūstari⁹, each talk in their introductions at some

¹ Ibn Taimīya/aḡ-Ḍahabī, *Muntaqā*, 27, and 30-31.

² *Ibid.*, 160: وقال (ابن المطهر): الوجه الثاني في الدلالة على وجوب اتباع مذهب الإمامية ما قاله شيخنا الأعظم خواجه نصير الدين محمد بن حسن الطوسي قدس الله روحه، وقد سأله عن المذاهب فقال - بحثنا عنها وعن حديث سفيان الثوري عن علي بن ثلاث وسبعين فرقة فوجدنا الفرق الناجية الإمامية لأنهم باينوا جميع المذاهب.

³ One form in which this famous *ḥadīṡ* occurs is: «... وعترتي...»

⁴ Ibn Taimīya/aḡ-Ḍahabī, *Muntaqā*, 328.

⁵ Ibn Taimīya's work, however, was itself attacked in a rebuttal by Muḥammad Mahdī AL-KĀZIMī, *Minḥaḡ al-Sarī'a fi ar-radd 'alā Ibn Taimīya*, (Naḡaf, 1346-47/1927-28), in 2 volumes, a modern work.

⁶ Šūstari, *Iḥqāq al-ḥaqq*, I, 76, n. 1 (In this note the editor quotes the full text of the *ḥuṡba* (introduction) of Ibn al-Muṭahhar's *Nahḡ al-ḥaqq*.)

⁷ "Reason" is perhaps not the best rendering of *idrāk*, since Ibn al-Muṭahhar really means "understanding" and the power of how man can know God. His refuter, Ibn Rūzbihān, hurries to point out this usage and states that Ibn al-Muṭahhar actually means to say "sight" (*ru'ya*); Šūstari, *Iḥqāq*, I, 79.

⁸ On Faḍl Allāh ibn Rūzbihān Ḥunḡī: (a) For a brief entry on him see Ḥwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb as-siyar*, IV, 607, under Ḥwāḡa Maulānā Iṣfahānī:

«چون خواجه . . . در مذهب تسنن بنایت متعصب بود، در زمان ظهور دولت شاهی (یعنی صفویه) از آذربایجان بهرات آمده . . . He gives his death date on 5 Ġumādā I, 927/1521. - (b) Šūstari, *Iḥqāq*, I, Introduction, 74-82; and II,

length about the original work (i. e. *Nahğ al-ḥaqq*), and briefly outline the reason for its composition. In his preface, Qāḍī Nūr Allāh also discusses Ḥunğī's refutation and comments briefly about the Sunni author and his life¹.

Referring to the Šī'ī take-over under the early Šafawids Ibn Rūzbihān Ḥunğī says in his introduction: "... A group of heterodox people occupied the land and disseminated *rāfiḍī* views and sectarianism among the people. This has forced me to leave my fatherland and choose exile after bidding farewell to the beloved ones and to my friends. So I left my town of Iṣfahān and reached Qāšān where I settled... where the views of the people of the Sunna and the Community (*aḥl as-sunna wal-ḡamā'a*) were spread, and where there were no sectarianism and atheism (*ilhād*)."²

While in Qāšān³, on the first leg of his travels which were to carry him ultimately to Ūzbek territory in the East, Ibn Rūzbihān came across Ibn al-Muṭahhar's work, the *Nahğ al-ḥaqq*,

Introduction, 57-64, where a reference is made to an article on Ibn Rūzbihān written by a descendant of the family which appeared in *Farhang-i Irān-zamīn*, IV, No. 3 (1335/1957), p. 183. (This article was not available for consultation. In it there is mention of a maternal uncle of Ḥunğī, al-Ḥāwḡa Ḡamāl ad-Dīn Ismā'īl as-Sa'īdī, who was vizīr of Pīr Budāq of the Qara-qoyunlu.) - (c) Ḥwānsārī, *Rauḍat al-ḡannāt*, 500-501 (short entry referring to his refutation of Ibn al-Muṭahhar's *Nahğ*, then indulges in a vile reference to a daughter of Ibn Rūzbihān who seems to have gone astray). - (d) Aḥmad Iqtidārī, *Laristān-i kuhān: taḥqīq dar bāra-yi Laristān-i qadīm*, (Tehran, 1334/1956). In a section on the famous men of Laristān, many are from the Rūzbihān family. On Faḍl Allāh are two lengthy entries: 143-145, 187-192. Thirteen of his works are listed (190-92), one of which, the *Diwārbakhtīya* is wrongly ascribed to him. - (e) Ḥunğī the town, south-east of Šīrāz towards the Persian Gulf (see Kaihān, *Ḡuḡrāfiyā-yi muḡaṣṣal-i Irān*, II, 231), was a bastion of *Sunnism*. According to J. Aubin ("Note sur quelques documents Aq-qoyunlu, 133, n. 3) the archives of the town were destroyed during the period of Nādir Šāh. - (f) Fasā'ī, *Fārsnāma-yi Nāṣirī*, Pt. 2, 197-98. (No mention of Ibn Rūzbihān!). - (g) Faḍlullāh b. Rūzbihān al-Iṣfahānī [AL-ḤUNĞĪ], *The Sulāḥu 'l-mulāḥ*, edited by the late M. Nizamuddin 1966 in Hyderabad (Dn.), but available only some years later when the manuscript of this book had already been sent to the press.

* On Qāḍī Nūr Allāh Šūstārī, see his *Iḥqāq*, I, Introduction, 82-161.

¹ A short guide to Šūstārī's *Iḥqāq al-ḥaqq*: The work, as published by the Kitābfurūšī-yi Islāmīya of Tehran, is in essence three books in one. This is how it left the hands of the third author Qāḍī Nūr Allāh, who, in writing the work, quoted at first the original author (Ibn al-Muṭahhar), then the second author (Ibn Rūzbihān), then he presented his own views on both, refuting the latter and confirming the former. This is done topic by topic, section by section, and sometimes even paragraph by paragraph and sentence by sentence. Ibn al-Muṭahhar's words are introduced by the expression *وقال المصنف رفع الله درجه* - those of Ibn Rūzbihān by the expression *وقال الناصب خفف الله* - and Qāḍī Nūr Allāh's contributions by the word *أقول*. In addition to these three texts, the work contains also (this time in footnotes) extensive comments by Šihāb ad-Dīn an-Naḡaffī, a modern author. Naḡaffī's comments often occupy several pages at a time - the text is thus interrupted and the comments take up all the page. In addition, Naḡaffī has introduced the entire work by a 161-page preface (which in fact carries the special title or rubric: *كتاب النال المتظم والدرر* *الفي* and which deals with the book itself, pp. 12-35, the life of the 'Allāma Ibn al-Muṭahhar, 35-70, that of Ulḡaitū, 70-73, that of Ḥunğī, 74-82, and finally that of Qāḍī Nūr Allāh himself, 82-161). The general editor - who one must admit has done a very good job of handling all this material - is al-Ḥasan al-Ḡaffārī. In addition to the table of contents there is a separate and extensive table of contents of the notes and comments of Naḡaffī, as well as other appendices. The one important thing that is missing is a general index. A thorough study of the work as a whole is an education in Šī'ism, Islām, and in fact in the whole span of Muslim history and thought. Volume I appeared in 1376/1956, v. II in 1377/1957, and v. III in 1378/1958. The publication is still not completed (or, more correctly, all the work is still not available to the present writer). However, the section that will interest us most in the present discussion, namely that on *imāma*, begins in v. II, 286. (Already v. VIII of the *Iḥqāq* has appeared in 1384/1964-65).

* Šūstārī, *Iḥqāq*, I, 25-26 (of the text). See also Ḥunğī/Minorsky, *Persia*, 7, and n. 1.

³ On locating Qāšān, and the problem of identifying it with either Kāšān in Irān or Kāšān (Qāšān) in Māwarā'annahr, see Manūčīhr Sūtūda's edition of Ḥunğī's *Mihmānāma-yi Buḡdād* (Tehran, 1341/1963).

read it, and set out to refute the arguments outlined in it. Before he begins the main part of the refutation, however, he heaps a few derogatory epithets on the author whose adherence to the beliefs of the Twelve Imāms he finds difficult to accept. He himself holds these Imāms in the highest esteem and goes on to quote some of his own poetry in their praise¹. He then mentions reasons for his undertaking, stressing unwittingly the following which shows definite signs that *ifnā'ašari šī'i* books were being keenly sought by the new Šafawid regime: "When I reviewed the contents of that book and reflected upon the appearance of the *bid'a* of the *imāmi* sect and its elevation in the land, so much so that they resorted to erasing the traces of *sunni* books . . . I began to wonder that the corruption of the times might lead the *imāms* of delusion to exaggerate the propagation of this book, and may even make of it a basis for their corrupt views . . ."²

Qāḍī Nūr Allāh, on the other hand, provides us with more details concerning the original composition of the book by Ibn al-Muṭahhar and the attack on it by Ibn Rūzbihān Ḥunḡī. He says that the sect of the *Ifnā'ašariya*, which he asserts is the only Muslim sect that will be saved on the Day of Judgement³, had had many enemies until the accession of Sulṭān Ġiyāṭ ad-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥudābanda who vacillated at first between the Ḥanafī school and the Šāfi'i school⁴. Finally, at a contest which was held in the court between the various schools, Ibn al-Muṭahhar was sent for to appear at court and explain the *imāmi* views which he did well, and the Sulṭān is said to have accepted *ifnā'ašari šī'ism* and ordered it to be the established religion of the land⁵.

Introduction, pp. 23-24, n. 4. The edition of this work appeared after most of the discussion on Ḥunḡī in this work was completed. Looking at it rather cursorily it is curious to note that Ḥunḡī makes no references to the rise of the Šafawids in the West – a sore point on which he makes caustic attacks both in his *Ibāl* (i. e. his refutation of Ibn al-Muṭahhar's *Nahḡ*) and his *Tārīḥ-i 'ālam-ārā-yi Amini*. This is all the more so in view of the ultimate clash between the *sunni* Muḥammad Saibānī Ḥān Ūzbek (his new patron and the main figure in the *Mihmānnāma*) and the rising star of the *šī'i* Šāh Ismā'īl. However, Mr. Sūtūda's introduction to his edition (pp. 11-34) and his bibliography on Ḥunḡī (pp. 33-34) should be checked further for possible additional information on Ḥunḡī and his times.

¹ Sūstari, *Iḥqāq*, I, 28 (of the text). See also I, 79-80 (of the introduction) where a longer poem in praise of the Twelve Imāms is quoted. The staunch *sunni* that he was, Ibn Rūzbihān – like most *sunni* writers – always held the Prophet's family in high esteem. This is an example of the *sunni* approach in general where practically all views can be acceptable and can find place in the all-enveloping Orthodox beliefs.

² Sūstari, *Iḥqāq*, I, 33 (of the text). It has been pointed out previously that one of Ibn al-Muṭahhar's works was made the basis for the new Šafawid religion. See above Chapter I, p. 6.

³ I. e. *al-firqa an-nāḡiya* among the 72 (or 73) sects into which the Prophet is said to have stated the Muslim community will be split.

⁴ Sūstari, *Iḥqāq*, I, 11-12 (of the text).

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 13-16 (of the text). The story of this contest is best preserved by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in his *Rihla* (Beirut ed.), 204 ff./Gibb's transl., II, 302 ff.). The famous traveller who was in the area in Ġumādā II, 727/1326 – a year or two after Ibn al-Muṭahhar's death – adds at the end of his account that the Twelver religion did not last long in ascendancy, and that soon "the Sulṭān (Ulḡaitū) renounced the *rāfi'i* views and wrote to his provinces demanding allegiance of the people to the views of the *Sunna* and the Community." (*Rihla*, 206/Gibb's transl., II, 304).

On the story of the conversion of Ulḡaitū to *ifnā'ašari šī'ism*, see also the following: (a) Sūstari, *Iḥqāq*, I, Introduction, 35-73, with additions in v. II, Introduction, 52-54. – (b) Ibn Ḥaḡar al-'Asqalānī, *ad-Durar al-ḥamīna*, II, 71-72, and III, 378-79. – (c) Ḥwānsāri, *Rauḍat al-ḡannāt*, 172-177. – (d) Sūstari, *Maḡālis*, 237-39. – (e) Maḡlīṣī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, I, Introduction, 203-216. – (f) Tunakābuntī, *Qīṣaṣ al-'ulamā*, 355-364. – (g) Subḡī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Šāfi'iya*, VI, 83-84, under "Qāḍī Maḡd ad-Dīn aš-Širāzī". – (h) Ibn Ḥaldūn, *Tārīḥ*, V, 549. – (i) 'Azzāwlī, *Tārīḥ*, I, 407-410, and his *Tārīḥ an-nuḡūd al-'Irāqīya*, 52-54. (From the year 707/1307 on Ulḡaitū began striking coins with the *šī'i* formula *عَلِيٌّ وَآلُهُ*. See contemporary doggerel on Ulḡaitū's coinage in 'Azzāwlī, *Tārīḥ an-nuḡūd* . . . For a description of a seal of Ulḡaitū with the *šī'i* formula, see N. SIOUFFI, "Notice sur le cachet de Sultan Mogol Oldjaitou Khodabendeh", *JA*, ser. 9, No. 8 (1896),

Qāḍī Nūr Allāh then tells us how Ibn Rūzbihān set out to refute the work. According to him Ibn Rūzbihān did so "as a revenge for the great massacre which befell his co-religionists in Iṣfahān" on the eve of the rise of the Ṣafawid state¹. He subsequently mentions that Ibn Rūzbihān ran away as a result of that massacre to Māwarā'annahr².

To return to Ibn al-Muṭahhar's own work: as was stated, he begins with a discussion of reason (*idrāk*). He then goes on to discuss the nature of observation (*naẓar*). These lead him naturally to a discussion of God's attributes (*ṣifāt*). The question of prophecy (*nubuwwa*) follows, and finally he arrives at the crucial problem, that of *imāma*³.

The first issue that is brought out under the fifth major section of the work is that of the infallibility (*'isma*) of the *imām*. The *imām*, says Ibn al-Muṭahhar, should be infallible (*ma'ṣūm*). According to the *imāmī* school, he goes on, the *imāms* are like the prophets in the necessity of their being infallible from all misdemeanors and abominations during the entire period from childhood till death whether they committed such actions premeditatedly or by accident. For they are the carriers of the sacred law and are the persons responsible for its application. In this way, their state resembles that of the Prophet⁴.

Ibn Rūzbihān, in his reply to this point, states that according to the Aṣ'aris the question of *imāma* is not one of the *uṣūl* but rather one of the *furū'*. The *imāmate* with the Aṣ'aris is (merely) succession (*ḥilāfa*) to the Prophet in upholding religion and the protection of the tenancy of the community⁵.

331-345). - (j) Mīrhwānd, *Rauḍat aṣ-ṣafā*, V, 426 ff. (Mīrhwānd ascribes Ši'ism to Ulghaitū himself:

«چون مقید الجایتو سلطان محمدخاندانده بر محبت اهل نبی و ول منظوری بود فرمان داد . . .»

(k) Faṣṣḥī, *Muḡmal*, III, 24 (year 715/1315-16), who mentions a certain Sayyid Rukn ad-Dīn Abhart,

. . . که الجایتو خانرا بمذهب شیعه تحریرص (تحریرص) میکرد.» (sic.)

(l) Ḥwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb as-siyar*, III, 195:

«آن پادشاه سعادت پناه بارشاد آنجناب (یعنی ابن المطهر) متابعت مذهب علیه امامیه نموده.»

¹ Sūstari, *Iḥqāq*, I, 19 (of the text). Cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, 199-200/Giesb's transl., II, 294-95. Upon describing Iṣfahān, at one time a beautiful city, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa adds, "But nowadays most of it lies in ruins as a result of the civil war (*fitna*) between the *sunnīs* and the *rāfiḍīs*. The fighting is still going on among them." (The date is Ġumada II, 727/1326). According to the commentator of *Iḥqāq*, Naḡaṣī, a group of *sunni* 'ulamā in Iṣfahān had issued a *fatwā* calling upon their followers to kill the *šī'is* of the town. Many of them were massacred. When Šāh Ismā'īl came to power he ordered a counter-massacre. See *Iḥqāq*, I, 19 (of the text), n. 6. On sectarian troubles in Iṣfahān at the mid-15th century see Aubin, "Note sur quelques documents Aq-qoyunlu", 134.

² Sūstari, *Iḥqāq*, I, 42 (of the text).

³ *Ibid.* I, 75 ff., 147 ff., 163 ff., II, 190 ff., 399 ff., and all of volume III - respectively.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 286-93.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 294-304. At the end of his refutation of this section, Ibn Rūzbihān concludes with a couplet containing a pun on the name of Ibn al-Muṭahhar (which means literally: "son of the cleansed one"):

Whenever he comes across good clean words,
He dirties them in the filth of falsehood.
With pure things he mixes his own impurities;
How contaminated Ibn al-Muṭahhar is!

At the end of his own refutation of Ibn Rūzbihān, Qāḍī Nūr Allāh does not forget to answer back in an equally unlaudatory couplet; this time the play is on Ibn Rūzbihān's first name (Faḍl) which could also mean "left-overs"! *Iḥqāq*, II, 305 and 319. Apparently Ibn al-Muṭahhar did not take seriously jokes about his name. It is said he met with Ibn Taimiyya while on a pilgrimage to Mecca. The two persons were discussing something together and Ibn Taimiyya was impressed and asked, "Who are you?" Ibn al-Muṭahhar replied, "You call me Ibn al-Munaḡḡas (son of the contaminated one)!" This broke the ice between the two scholars. (The story is reported on the authority of Saḥāwī who had heard it from his teacher Ibn Haḡar al-'Asqalānī and added it in his own handwriting to a copy of Ibn Haḡar's *ad-Durar al-ḥamīna*. See *Durar*, II, 72, n. 1.)

In his reply to Ibn Rūzbihān's refutations, Qāḍī Nūr Allāh quotes from such Sunni authorities as Baiḍāwī (v. II, p. 307), Ibn Ḥaḡar al-'Asqalānī (II, 312), Dawwānī (II, 315), and Taftazānī (II, 317), in support of Ibn al-Muṭahhar's argument!

The second point mentioned by Ibn al-Muṭahhar in his discussion of *imāma* is the view that the *imām* should be the best (*afḍal*) person in the community. The discussion of this point turns around the intention of Ibn al-Muṭahhar in his use of the term itself¹.

This is followed by the question of the appointment of the *imām*. On this matter Ibn al-Muṭahhar has this to say: "All the *imāmis* have agreed that the method of appointment of the *imām* is . . . by a text from God or his Prophet, or by an *imām* whose *imāmate* had been established textually, or through the appearance of miracles performed by him. For the condition of the *imām* is infallibility, which is an esoteric matter known only to God."²

Ibn Rūzbihān, however, replies by presenting the Sunni view that "a person merely by being suitable to the *imāmate* and by possessing its conditions does not necessarily become an *imām*. There is need for another condition: the textual evidence from the Prophet and the previous *imām* requires the unanimity (*iğmā'*) of the Muslim community"³. He also mentions the allegiance (*bay'a*) of those in authority.

In replying to this section, Qāḍī Nūr Allāh takes the opportunity by commenting that Ibn Rūzbihān deceived the people of Māwarā'annahr by his work which, he admits, was well-received by certain '*ulamā*' at the court of Šaibānī Ḥān of the Ūzbeks⁴.

The fourth point under the question of *imāma* deals with the fact that, according to the *imāmis*, 'Alī was the *imām* after the Prophet⁵. Naturally, Ibn Rūzbihān maintains that the successor to the Prophet was Abū Bakr not through any textual direction but through unanimity (*iğmā'*)⁶. Qāḍī Nūr Allāh steps in to bring all the possible evidence he can muster in order to vindicate the statement made by Ibn al-Muṭahhar⁷.

Ibn al-Muṭahhar then goes on to quote from the Qur'ān those verses which the *imāmis* believe were intended to refer to 'Alī or his succession or the succession of the various members of the Prophet's family⁸. Each one of these verses is in turn discussed by Ibn Rūzbihān who gives the Sunni interpretation of their intent, and then each one is subsequently confirmed by Qāḍī Nūr Allāh in accordance with *īṭnā'aṣarī* beliefs.

3. *Ibn Taimiya and the Nuṣairis*

Earlier in this chapter we saw Ibn Taimiya's views on *īṭnā'aṣarī* šī'ī writings exemplified by his refutation of Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī's *Minhāğ al-karāma*. What follows is another specimen of polemical writing this time reviewed in Ibn Taimiya's attack against the Nuṣairis,

¹ Which even in English defies translation!

² Šūstari, *Iḥqāq*, II, 334.

³ *Ibid.* II, 336.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 341-44. "I have seen", says Qāḍī Nūr Allāh, "on the cover of a copy of this ill-starred work, and in the handwriting of one of the *qāḍīs* of Māwarā' annahr, a few lines of exaggerated praise of this book and its author." - The text of two poems by Ḥunḡī, one in Persian and the other in Turkish, sent from Māwarā'annahr to Sulṭān Selīm urging him to attack Šāh Ismā'īl, is preserved in Ferīdūn, *Munṣa'at*, I, 367. See also *Iḥqāq*, II, Introduction, 59-63. In them he addresses the Ottoman Sulṭān as: «مهدی آخر الزمان».

⁵ Šūstari, *Iḥqāq*, II, 355.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 356.

⁷ The commentator of *Iḥqāq* at this point comes to his assistance and quotes several other sources which Qāḍī Nūr Allāh had left out. *Iḥqāq*, II, 358-399.

⁸ Eighty-four of these verses are given, which, together with extensive comments on them, occupy the remainder of Volume II (p. 399 ff.) of the *Iḥqāq*, and fill all of Volume III of the work.

a group of extreme Ši'is whose ideas derived in some form or other from the Fātimids of Egypt and from the earlier Qarmāṭians.

The question was put to Ibn Taimiyya to give his opinion on the Nuṣairis by a Šāfi'i *ṣaiḥ*: "What do the *imāms* of religion say about: the Nuṣairis who believe in the drinking of wine, in re-incarnation of the soul, the ancientness of the world . . . and that their God who created the heavens and the earth is 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib . . . who to them is the *imām* in heaven and the *imām* on earth . . . and who say that Muḥammad (the Prophet) is the name while 'Alī is the meaning and essence? . . . This accursed sect has occupied a large section of Syria, and are notorious and well-known and exercise their religion openly. Their affairs were unknown to most people during the occupation of the coastal lands by the vanquished Crusades; but when Islām returned they were uncovered . . ."¹

Ibn Taimiyya replies by a general condemnation of the Nuṣairis and other sects that hold similar views. "These people", he says, "who are called the Nuṣairis, together with all kinds of *bāṭinī* Qarmāṭians, are more godless and akin to atheism (*kufr*) than the Jews and Christians, and are in fact more disbelieving than many idolators (*muṣrikūn*). Their harm against the Muslim community is greater than the harm of the fighting atheists like the Tatars (read Mongols), Crusaders, and others².

Ibn Taimiyya concurs with the questioner on the matter of collusion between the Nuṣairis and the Crusaders. "It is known to us," he says, "that the Syrian coastlands fell into the hands of the Christians only through them, for they always took the side of every enemy of the Muslims"³.

Then he turns to a topic which had become his pet subject, namely that the Mongols could never have entered the lands of Islam and killed the Caliph of Baġdād and other Muslim kings except through the assistance and support of such sects⁴. Naṣir ad-Din Ṭūsī is then singled out for attack, and Ibn Taimiyya also brings in the Ismā'īlis of Alamūt: "Their allegiance was to the person who was their vizir, i. e. al-Naṣir aṭ-Ṭūsī. He was their minister at Alamūt, and it was he who ordered the execution of the Caliph and the succession of the Tatars (read Mongols). They have names well-known to the Muslims: at times they are known as the *malāḥida*, at other times the *qarāmīṭa* or the *bāṭinīs* or the Ismā'īlis or the Nuṣairis . . . Some of these names are applied to all of them or are specific only to some of their sects."⁵

Ibn Taimiyya then attacks some of their "philosophical" views and refers to the activities of Iḥwān aṣ-Ṣafā. "They maintain", he states "that the first thing that God created was the mind. By saying that they agree with the statements of the philosophers, the followers of Aristotle . . . They misinterpret and misapply the sayings of the Prophet like the authors of the treatises of the Brethren of Purity and similar groups"⁶.

This violent attack on the Nuṣairis⁷ is more vociferous than Ibn Taimiyya's refutations of the views of the *imāmi* Twelver Ibn al-Muṭabhar. For these groups which he is now dealing with hold extreme views which are detested by all members of the Muslim community – Sunnis as well as Ši'is. Moreover, the involvement of these groups with the remnants of the Crusades in Syria made them an easy prey to Ibn Taimiyya's wrath.

¹ Ibn Taimiyya, *Maḡmū' ar-rasā'il*, 94–95. The treatise in question is entitled: "Risāla fī r-radd 'alā an-Nuṣairiyya", pp. 94–102.

² *Ibid.*, 96.

³ *Ibid.*, 97.

⁴ *Ibid.*, The reference here no doubt is to the *isnād al-Ši'is*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 97–98.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 98.

⁷ Which goes on to mention specific things asked in the question, viz. marriage with them, partaking of their food, allowing them to guard the frontiers of Islam, etc.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the famous traveler, who was passing in this area about this time makes more specific observations on the Nuṣairis. He says: "Most of the inhabitants of these coastlands belong to the Nuṣairī sect who believe that 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib is a god, and they do not pray, nor do they perform ablutions or observe the fast. Al-Malik az-Zāhir (Baibars, who reigned: 658-676/1260-1277) had forced them to build mosques in their villages. They did build a mosque in every village away from the inhabited sections, which they never went into or repaired. Sometimes, their cattle and beasts of burden would find shelter in these mosques. Sometimes a stranger would come to the town and would stay at the mosque and chant the call to prayer. They would answer: Stop braying! Your fodder shall be sent to you! Their numbers were great"¹.

The famous traveler goes on to narrate a story about a stranger who came to the lands of the Nuṣairis and claimed that he was the Mahdī. This character fooled the apparently simple people sending them to conquer the lands of the Muslims with sticks which he told them will change into swords when the fighting begins. The governors of the neighboring districts joined hands to put an end to this insurrection. The news had reached Cairo, and al-Malik an-Nāṣir was about to decide to exterminate the entire community were it not for his chief minister who called his attention to the fact that the Nuṣairis were needed to till the lands².

To conclude this discussion of Ibn Taimiyya's attacks on the non-Sunni Muslim groups, it might perhaps be useful to give one example of what were his own beliefs about religion. In a short treatise entitled '*Aqīdat Ahl as-Sunna wal-Firqa an-Nāḡiyya*', addressed from Aḥmad ibn Taimiyya to whomsoever this message reaches among those Muslims who adhere to the Sunna and the community, he says: "God's religion is the middle path between exaggerated zeal and negligence. For whenever God commands the people to perform a thing Satan opposes it in two ways, unconcerned in which of the two he will succeed: either making (the people) go to extremes (in performing God's command) or having them forsake it altogether"³.

4. Nāṣir ad-Dīn al-Baiḍāwī

We shall conclude by devoting a few short words to the fourth of the scholars whom we took to represent the religious climate during the high Mongol period, i. e., the Šāfi'i judge of Tabriz, Nāṣir ad-Dīn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar al-Baiḍāwī (d. 685/1286).

Baiḍāwī was born at Baiḍā, a small town to the south of Širāz. Later he became chief judge in Širāz and spent his last days in Tabriz where he died⁴.

He is best remembered for his work on Qur'ānic interpretation and exegesis, the *Anwār al-tanzīl*⁵. He belonged to the Šāfi'i school and adhered to the views of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Aš'arī

¹ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Rihla*, 79-80/Gibb's transl. I, 111-112.

² *Ibid.* al-Malik an-Nāṣir is most probably the Mamlūk Sulṭān an-Nāṣir Muḥammad who ruled 693-694/1293-94; 698-708/1298-1308; and 709-741/1309-1340.

³ Ibn Taimiyya, '*Aqīdat ahl as-Sunna* . . .', ed. 'Abd ar-Rāziq 'Aṭfī, Cairo 1358/1939.

⁴ Ibn Taimiyya, *Ibid.*, p. 22: «وقد تقدم أن دين الله وسط بين الغالي فيه والجلاني منه. والله ما أمر عباده بأمر إلا أعرض الشيطان فيه بأمرين لا يزال باهما ظفر: إما إفراط فيه وإما تفريط فيه.

For an exposition of the beliefs of the Sunni schools (of the Ḥanafī rite), see the early work of almost the same title ('*Aqīdat ahl as-Sunna wal-Gamā'a*') by Abū Ga'far Aḥmad aṭ-Ṭahāwī (d. 321/933), translated into English by E. E. ELDER in *The Macdonald Presentation Volume* (Princeton University Press, 1933), 129-144. aṭ-Ṭahāwī was the great Ḥanafī lawyer of Egypt and a contemporary of al-Aš'arī.

⁵ *Nāma-yi Dānišwarān-i Nāṣiri*, VIII, 136-151, and as-Subkī *Ṭabaqāt as-Šāfi'iyya*, V, 59. Subkī, who belongs to the generation after Baiḍāwī, praises Baiḍāwī's knowledge and tells a story about how he impressed an audience in Tabriz by his erudition.

⁶ The work was presented to Argūn-ḥān (683-690/1284-91), who was pleased with the work and rewarded Baiḍāwī by appointing him *qāḍī* of Baiḍā at his request. *Nāma-yi Dānišwarān*, VIII, 139.

on *kalām*. His work on the Qur'ān seems to have acquired great renown after his death. A writer of the succeeding generation states that Baiḍāwī's work "spread in the lands and was communicated far and wide; many great *imāms* graduated when they studied it".

Two recent scholars who have studied and translated certain sections of Baiḍāwī's *Anwār* have this to say on his methods of interpretation: "al-Baiḍāwī . . . seems accredited as the commentator *par excellence* of the Qur'ān . . . He is a scholar who earns respect for the beginnings of a sifting of evidence, while in some instance he wisely leaves his readers to choose their own interpretation of certain passages".

This latitudinarian approach to Qur'ānic interpretation has made even the Ši'is accept certain views put forth by Baiḍāwī as we have seen³. BROCKELMANN lists as many as eighty-six glosses on Baiḍāwī's *tafsīr*⁴.

The importance of Baiḍāwī has in fact been already recognized by orientalist⁵, as well as by one of the chief centers of Islamic studies, al-Azhar university in Cairo⁶.

Baiḍāwī is also known, but to a much lesser degree, as the author in Persian of a short history called *Niẓām al-tawārīḥ* which covers the period from the creation to the year 674/1275⁷. The work was translated and used by 'Abd Allāh ibn Faṭḥ Allāh al-Baghdādī in his fifteenth century chronicle *at-Tārīḥ al-Giyāṣī*⁸. Even the great Persian contemporary poet Ḥāfiẓ, we are told, used to read some of the works of Baiḍāwī⁹.

5. Conclusion

To recapitulate: we have reviewed briefly some of the works of four representative scholars whose life coincided with the Mongol Ilḥānīd domination in the Muslim world. We have reviewed one of Naṣīr ad-Dīn Ṭūsī's minor works on *imāma* and commented on his involvement with the coming of the Mongols, the fall of Baghdād, and the controversy about his *Ismā'īlī*-sevener and *uṣṭā'ī*-twelver views. We then discussed the great controversies between the leading Twelver scholar Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī with two of his most famous opponents: the great

¹ Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn As'ad al-Yāfi'ī (d. 768/1366), *Mir'āt al-ḡinān wa-'ibrat al-yaqẓān*, (Hyderabad, 1339/1920), IV, 220.

² E. F. F. BISHOP and Moh. KADDAL, *Chrestomathia Baidāwiana: The Light of Inspiration and Secret of Interpretation* (translation of Sūrat Yūsuf), Glasgow, 1957 p. 7.

³ See above, p. 34, and Šūstari, *Iḥqāq*, II, 307. See also Ḥwānsārī, *Rauḍāt al-ḡannāt*, where the author talks of Baiḍāwī's «غاية ارتفاع في طريقة الباطن و ادراكه الباطن الواقعي». According to Ḥasan-i Fasā'ī, *Fārsnāma-yi Nāṣiri*, Pt. 2, 183-84, Baiḍāwī studied with Naṣīr ad-Dīn Ṭūsī.

⁴ GAL, I, 416-418.

⁵ Baiḍāwī's commentary was edited by H. O. FLEISCHER as *Baidhawii Commentarius in Coranum* in 2 volumes (Leipzig 1846-48). A volume of *Indices* appeared in 1879, prepared by W. FELL. For a view on Baiḍāwī's work by Th. NÖLDEKE, see *Geschichte des Qorans*, II, "Die Sammlung des Qorans", Leipzig 1919, 176-77. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, in the last decade of the 19th century, translated Sūra iij (Āl 'Imrān) for use by the students of the Oxford Oriental School. See his *Chrestomathia Baidawiana*, London 1894.

⁶ The Cairo edition of *Anwār al-tanzīl* (4 parts in 2 volumes, 1330/1911), with the commentary of al-Ḥaṭīb al-Kāzarūnī, is prescribed for the 6th year students at al-Azhar University in Cairo; see J. ROBSON, "al-Bayḍāwī", in *EI*, new edition.

⁷ On Baiḍāwī's *Niẓām al-tawārīḥ*, see 'Azzāwī, *at-Ta'rif bi-al-mu'arriḥīn*, 116-119, ETHÉ, *Cat. of the Pers. MSS.*, I, No. 16, col. 7, RIEU, *Pers. Cat.*, 832-34, and BROWNE, *LHP*, III, 63 and 100-101. The section on China in Baiḍāwī's history was published in German in the last quarter of the 17th century. - Baiḍāwī writes in a rather neutral way about the Ismā'īlīs of Alamūt. He ascribes no offensive teachings to the first two (Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ and Kiyā Buzurg Umid), but does talk about the *ta'wilāt-i bāḥil* of the Qur'an by their successors. See his *Niẓām al-tawārīḥ*, ed. Bahman Mirzā KARIMI, (Tehran 1313), 82-84.

⁸ 'Abd Allāh ibn Faṭḥ Allāh al-Baghdādī, *at-Tārīḥ al-Giyāṣī*, MS., p. 5.

⁹ Browne, *LHP*, III, 272.

contemporary Ḥanbalī writer Ibn Taimiyya, and the equally celebrated Sunni Aš'arite thinker Faḍl Allāh ibn Rūzbihān Ḥunḡī of the late fifteenth century. We also had a quick look into Ibn Taimiyya's attack on the Nuṣairis who represented an extremist (*ḡulāt*) view of Ši'ism. And finally we included a few passing remarks on that great Qur'ān interpreter Baiḍāwī who at that time and place could write one of the best known interpretations of the Holy Book.

This quick exposition seems to indicate very clearly that the Mongol period (i. e., the first three-quarters of a century or so of the period under discussion) was marked with tremendous religious controversies; but at the same time it was a period of co-existence of the various Muslim religious views. This co-existence amounted almost to a freedom of religious beliefs and reciprocal toleration¹. Increasing signs, however, were slowly pointing the way to a pre-dominance of the *ifnā'aṣārī* beliefs in the higher circles of the court and in the cities². This appeared clearly in the attempts of Ulḡaitū to dabble with the various schools. The Mongol *sulṭāns*, by and large, seem to have been playing the part of innocent bystanders; but their attitude, however, could not be described as that of a-plague-on-both-your-houses. Rather they showed interest in and appreciation of the lively controversies. But they remained essentially foreign to what was going on along the religious level. Their men kept the peace.

As far as their religious duties were concerned, the early Mongol *ḡāns* entrusted the conduct of religious endowments (*waqfs*) to the only person who was capable enough to run them efficiently, i. e. Naṣīr ad-Dīn Ṭūsī³, on whom they appear to have counted in various other matters such as finance⁴. Later Mongol *sulṭāns* increased *waqf* lands in an attempt to improve

¹ On this see the interesting remarks of Manūčīhr MURTAZAWI, pp. 74-80 of his article "Dīn-o-maḡhab dar 'ahd-i Ilḡāniyān", mentioned in footnote 1 p. 22 above, and Ġawād SAĞĠADIYA, «نبرد تمصب مذهبی در دورهٔ» نیردن تمصب مذهبی در دورهٔ, *Naṣrīya-yi Dāniškada-yi Adabīyāt*, XI (Tabriz 1338/1959), pp. 151-159. Cf. 'Umarī, *Masālik*, (Klaus LUCH, *Das Mongolische Weltreich*), p. 10 where it is stated that:

ومن قوانینهم التي ألغت منهم أن لا يتعصبوا لمذهب من المذاهب على مذهب.

² Quoting from Ḥāfiḡ-i Abrū's *Maḡma' at-tawārīḡ* (Tehran, Malik Library MS.) on Ġāzān-ḡān's inclination (*lamāyul*) towards Ši'ism, Manūčīhr MURTAZAWI says:

... پادشاه غازان خان را میل تمام بدان طایفه بردی. اما هر گز از غایت کنایت اظهار نکردی و رعایت مصلحت عام فرمودی، و کسی را زهره آنکه اظهار کند نبود.

See his article "Dīn-o-maḡhab dar 'ahd-i Ilḡāniyān", p. 45. 'Abbas AL-'AZZĀWĪ, in his *Tārīḡ an-nuḡūd al-'Irāqīya*, p. 54, argues that the Mongols under Ulḡaitū established Ši'ism as a reaction to the *sunni* caliphate which they had supplanted, but that this attempt failed and they had to revert to traditional *sunni*sm.

³ Bar-Hebraeus, *Muḡtaṣar ad-duwal* (Beirut, ed., 1890), 500-1, and BROWNE, *LHP*, III, 18. Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī in *Masālik al-abṣār* inquired about *waqf* lands under the Mongols:

«سألت . . . إن كانت الأوقاف باقية في نواحي هذه المملكة (أي مملكة الإيلخانيين) كما هي عليها الآن أم تناولتها أيدي العدوان، فأخبرني بأنها جميعا جارية في مجاريها لم يتعرض إليها متعرض لا في دولة هولاكو ولا في ما بعدها بل كل وقت في يد متربيه ومن له الولاية عليه، وكل ما يقال من نقص حال الأوقاف بإيران جميعا هو من سوء ولاء أمورها أكثر من سواهم».

See 'AZZĀWĪ, *Tārīḡ*, III, Appendix 2, p. 39; and see now original text of 'Umarī's *Masālik* (in Klaus LUCH, *Das Mongolische Weltreich*), p. 92 of the Arabic text; and the comments on *Waqf*-lands by Klaus LUCH, pp. 332-333 of the German section. For a description of Ṭūsī's performance in this respect, see Ibn al-Fūṭī/Fuwatī?, (d. 723/1323-24), *al-Ḥawādiṡ al-ḡāmi'a*, (Baghdād, 1351/1932) p. 375. *Waqf*-lands remained under the supervision of Ṭūsī and his sons until the year 687/1288-89, when they reverted to the governors of Baghdad.

⁴ Muḡtabā MINOVI and V. MINORSKY, "Naṣīr ad-Dīn Ṭūsī on Finance", *BSOAS*, X (1940-42), 755-789 - a treatise written perhaps for Hulagu to familiarize the foreign ruler with taxation in the newly conquered lands.

their relations with the Muslim clergy¹. Their primary interest, however, seems to have been directed to encouraging astronomy and the historical sciences².

On many occasions, the Ilhānid *sulṭāns* assumed the role of patron or intermediary. Gāzān-ḥān (694-703/1295-1304), for example, while touring the Ši'i shrines at Karbalā, made several endowments to darwish monasteries, to Šāfi'i and Ḥanafī colleges, and established a resident for *sayyids*³. Earlier, Aḥmad Takudār (680-683/1281-84) conducted lengthy correspondence with the Mamlūk Sulṭān Qalāwūn of Egypt on religious questions⁴. Ulḡaitū, before giving weight to the *ifnā'ašari* Ši'is, had at one time ordered the execution of a Kurd who claimed to be the Mahdī, and an extreme Ši'i missionary who attempted to convert him⁵.

The Mongol chief minister and most influential person in the Mongol court, Rašid ad-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, apparently tried to steer a clear course amid these religious controversies: once he saved two Šāfi'i scholars of Bagdād who were accused of treasonable activity with Egypt, and on another occasion he was instrumental in the execution of the *naqīb al-ašraf* (chief representative of the family of the Prophet)⁶. His own orthodoxy seems to have been secure⁷.

The Ismā'ilis of Alamūt, on the other hand, although their fortresses had been destroyed, seem to have continued some kind of commando activity directed (as was the case during the Fāṭimid regime) by the Mamlūk rulers of Egypt. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, passing through their strongholds in Syria, has the following description of this phase of Ismā'ili activity: "These fortresses belong to a sect called the Ismā'ilis. They are also known by the name of *fidāwis* (commandos: persons who sacrifice their lives for a cause) . . . They are the arrows of the (Egyptian Mamlūk Sulṭān) al-Malik al-Nāšir, with which he strikes at his enemies whom he cannot reach in Iraq and other countries. They have salaries . . ."⁸

¹ A. A. ALI-ZADEH, "The agrarian system in Azerbaijan in the XIII-XIV centuries", *Akten des vierundzwanzigsten Orientalisten-Kongresses*, (München, 28 August - 4 September 1957), ed. H. Franke, Wiesbaden, 1959, p. 340.

² Muḥammad Mu'IN, *Ḥāfiṣ-i Kirān suḥan* (Tehran 1319), section on "'Ulūm-o-adabiyāt dar 'aṣr-i Ḥāfiṣ", pp. 52 ff.: Tūsī at Marāḡa, and the historians Ġuwainī and Rašid ad-Dīn.

³ BROWNE, *LHP*, III, 42, 44, and 46.

⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 25-26. For specimens of this correspondence see H. H. HOWORTH, *History of the Mongols*, Part III, "The Mongols of Persia" (London 1888), 290 ff.; G. D'OHSSON, *Histoire des Mongols depuis Tchinguiz-khan*, v. III (The Hague 1834), 563 ff.; HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Geschichte der Ilchane*, v. I (Darmstadt 1842), 331 ff. (based on *Tārīḥ-i Waṣṣāf*; see edition by HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Geschichte Wassaf's* (Wien 1856), v. I, 231 ff. (of the Persian text), and the Bombay edition (1249/1833, reprinted in 1338/1960), 113 ff.); and Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, I, pt. 3, Annex 7, pp. 977-984 (other Mongol-Mamlūk correspondence in Annexes 12-16.)

⁵ BROWNE, *LHP*, III, 50-51.

⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 70-71.

⁷ "A MS. containing the Persian translation of Rašid ad-Dīn's *Lafṣ'if al-ḥaqā'iq* . . . contains two copies of an attestation of the orthodoxy of Rašid ad-Dīn's theological views signed by seventy leading doctors of Muslim theology. This attestation was drawn up in consequence of an accusation of heterodoxy made against Rašid ad-Dīn by a malicious fellow . . ." See BROWNE, *LHP*, III, 76.

⁸ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, 76, and 77-78/GIBB's transl., I, 106 ff. - al-Malik an-Nāšir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn sent in 720/1320 thirty assassins from Syria to Irān. Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd was frightened and hid in his tent. Amir Čubān told an-Nāšir's envoy:

«يك أنت كلّ قليل تحضر الينا هدية وتريد منا أن نكون متفقين مع صاحب مصر لشكر بنا حتى تقتلنا القداوية والإسماعيلية»

al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, v. II, pt. 1, p. 207. In the peace treaty which was shortly concluded Abu Sa'īd inserted as one of the terms that no Ismā'ilis were to enter Mongol territory. For the peace treaty see al-Maqrīzī, *loc. cit.*, 209-210. On all this see Muḥammad Ġamāl ad-Dīn SURÜR, *Dawlat Banī Qalāwūn fī Miṣr* (Cairo 1947), 206 ff., and Cf. 'Azzāwī, *Tārīḥ*, I, 470-71.

At times, the Mamlūks attempted to curb Ismā'ili activity: Abū l-Fidā, *Kitāb al-muḥtaṣar*, IV, 76, when as *amīr* of Ḥamā he was instructed:

«أن لا تكون بحماة وبلادها حامية الدعوة الإسماعيلية»

In fact, the Ismā'īlis of Alamūt are said to have regained control of their fortress towns for some time, and it required another Mongol expedition to dislodge them¹. A leading scholar of Ismā'īli history and thought made the following appraisal of the influence of Ismā'īlism after the fall of Alamūt: "The rapid spread of Shi'ism after the Mongol invasion and the destruction of the political power of the Ismā'īlis may perhaps be attributed to a large extent to the drifting of the Ismā'īli communities under the shelter of the kindred sects which gained influence at that time"².

Iṭnā'aṣarī Ši'ism, on the other hand, showed definite signs of prosperity particularly during the reigns of Ġāzān-hān and Ulġaitū. The other two main branches of Ši'ism, namely Ismā'īlism and the *ḡulāt*, did not fare so well. As a Muslim school with a recognized set of principles and a highly elaborate system of dogma, *iṭnā'aṣarī Ši'ism* could be applied side by side with an established system of government like that under the Ilhānids. (In fact, so was the Ismā'īli system under the Fātimids in Egypt in an earlier century). The later Ismā'īli (*fidāwī*) successors to the Alamūt regime, as well as such splinter groups as the Nuṣairi *ḡulāt*, had no place in an organized and well-established regime.

However, the victory of *iṭnā'aṣarī Ši'ism* was short-lived, and the Mongols under Abū Sa'id (and even already under the last few years of Ulġaitū) reverted to the Sunni synthesis. At least this was so officially and formally; for in fact, the *iṭnā'aṣariya* persisted under some of the Mongol successor states such as the Čübānids and the Ġalāyirs.

Ši'i scholars carried on the struggle of winning over the central government (any central government – for after the Ilhānids the use of the term becomes rather academic) to *iṭnā'aṣarī Ši'ism* in the second and third generations after Ibn al-Muṭahhar. Muḥammad ibn Makki al-Āmili, "aš-Šahid al-Awwal" (put to death in 786/1384), and Aḥmad ibn Fahd al-Hillī (d. 841/1437) are two such leading scholars. But by their time the approach had become slightly altered. Ibn Makki's involvements, for example, were with the *ḡulāt* dynasty of the Sarbadārs; while Ibn Fahd showed signs of intimacy with both the *ḡulāt* and with Šūfism. Two of his more celebrated students were Muḥammad ibn Falāḥ who founded the extreme *šī'i* state of the Muṣa'ša' in the marshlands of southern Iraq, and Muḥammad Nūrbahṣ, the founder of the Nūrbahṣiya šūfi order in eastern Irān.

To say that *iṭnā'aṣarī Ši'ism* dissipated its strength and found temporary refuge among the *šūfi* orders and extreme *šī'i* movements of the 14th and 15th centuries is to deny the *iṭnā'aṣarī* scholars and divines their continued interest and keen concern with the long and elaborate tradition which goes back many centuries. Perhaps it is more correct to say that the *šūfi* orders as well as the *ḡulāt* stole the show and used Ši'ism, in its more popular and folk-Islamic garbs, for their own purposes. This is perhaps the truer picture; and it can best be seen through a study of one of these *šūfi* orders, that of Šaiḥ Šafi ad-Dīn of Ardabil, the eponymous founder of the Šafawids.

The allegiance of the Ismā'īlis to the Mamlūk sultāns of Egypt (who were *sunnīs*) is very curious, and the following remark from Qalqaṣandī (originally from al-'Umari) is worth quoting:

«وقد ذكر (المعري) في مسالك الأبصار نقلا عن مقدمهم مبارك بن علوان أن كل من ملك مصر كان مظهراً لهم. ولذلك يرون اتلاف نفوسهم في طاعته لما ينتقلون إليه من النعم الأكبر في زعمهم. ورأيت نحو ذلك في أساس السياسة لابن طاهر. وذكر أنهم يرون أن ملوك مصر كالنواب لأئمتهم لقيامهم مقامهم».

Qalqaṣandī, *Subḥ al-a'ṣā*, XIII, p. 245. – In view of all this post-Alamūt activity of the Ismā'īlis/*fidāwis*, it is difficult to accept B. LEWIS' statement that "it (Ši'ism of the Ismā'īli type) dragged on an attenuated and fossilised existence." See his "Some observations on the significance of heresy in the history of Islam", *Studia Islamica*, I (1953), 43–63. The quotation given here is from p. 50.

¹ BROWNE, *LHP*, III, 25. An assassin attempt to kill Tīmūr in Damascus was made as late as 1400. *Ibid.*, III, 197.

² W. IVANOW, *An Ismailitic Work . . .*, JRAS (1931), p. 529, n. 1.

THE ŠŪFĪ ORDER AT ARDABĪL

An attempt has been made in the preceding chapter to examine the religious state of affairs as it manifested itself among some of the learned Muslim scholars at the Mongol Ilhānīd court and, in certain cases (like that of Ibn Taimiyya), the reaction to this – again at the high level of the theologians and scholars – at the Mamlūk state and in particular in Syria. The persons dealt with represented the truly cultured classes of society and belonged to what may conveniently be referred to as the world of "high Islam". These were persons, like Naṣīr ad-Dīn Ṭūsī and Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Hillī, or Ibn Taimiyya and al-Baiḍāwī, who were steeped in religious knowledge, and who either considered themselves as the religious leaders of their communities or were recognized as such by their followers, or accepted it as a religious duty to make their views known on certain important and controversial religious problems like the succession to the Prophet, or the *imāma*, or the true *imām*, or his infallibility, to mention only a few of the matters which were the subject of contention – extending all the way from the proper and correct understanding of a grammatical-textual point (a matter of serious consideration when the significance of every word and letter of the *Qur'ān* is concerned) to such vital issues as the whole question of the createdness or otherwise of the word of God.

Such matters however were by their very nature the domain of the few – the learned, the scholarly, the students of religion, the masters and their devoted followers. Very rarely did such questions go beyond this rather small circle of religious elite. If they did, the farthest they went was to the *imām* in the local mosque or to the muezzin in the minaret. It was only then that the common man of the cities, towns, and villages – and again, only the man who cared to show interest in such matters – knew about what was going on. And he knew only the general, the broad outline, the end result. This situation is perhaps best exemplified in a comment by JUYNBOLL with reference to the *šī'i adān* formula *ḥayya 'alā ḥair al-'amal*: "These words have at all times been the shibboleth of the Shi'ites; when called out from the minarets in an Orthodox country, the inhabitants knew that the government had become Shi'ite."¹

That may have been the end of things. Often, however, it was the beginning of problems which manifested themselves in attempts at civil insurrections or even massacres of *šī'is* by *sunnis* or the other way around. Such strife was often instigated by the people in power, the local governor or the chief in the town, usually egged on by the religious divines whose interests appeared nearly always to coincide with that of the ruling power, or whose own selfish ambitions had been jeopardized². The *šī'i* groups, almost always in the minority, feigned

¹ Th. W. JUYNBOLL, "Adhān", *EI*, new edition (article reproduced verbatim from the first edition).

² Cf. V. MINORSKY in *Unity and Variety*, 190–91, "... from the Seljūq time on we confront: the official religion tied closely to the interests of the rulers, the Shi'ite opposition associated with numerous movements directed against the established order, and artificial ways of evasion in which the frustration of generations that live in a dead-end age takes refuge".

religious dissimulation (*taqīya*)¹ – an attitude which became part of their religious tenets, and in this way they saved themselves from their enemies.

But this was something temporary and occasional. One may even say it was not the rule, rather the exception to the rule². As a policy of the state, we shall have reason to refer to the situation in Anatolia and the Šī'ī revolts there in the fifteenth century in a later section. Suffice it to say at present that the religious controversies which we have dealt with in the preceding chapter were fought by and large among the religious scholars themselves, by refutation and counter-refutation, and at the court of the ruling princes, by argument and discussion. The common man was hardly aware of what exactly was going on.

In fact, there was something else that was drawing the common man away from the controversial arguments of the scholars, something which sounded more understandable to him, something that had less to do with dogmatic beliefs and more with the real wonders of his life. For around him, in almost every town and city there was a "holy man", a Šūfī saint, who could perform miracles or do actions which to the common man appeared truly amazing. This saint was attracting the common people away from the difficult and exacting problems of Islam the religion and, through local meetings, gatherings, repetitive prayers, simple monotonous singing, and even mass hysteria, the pious saint won those people's hearts with the promise of attaining the final stage of communion with God in a state of utter and supreme ecstasy³.

The whole question of Šūfism or mysticism during the Mongol period has not been studied in full, and our knowledge about folk Islam during this period and afterwards is very sketchy. Conclusions on this matter, therefore, will be very difficult to draw definitively. However, a look into the life and times of one of the most famous Šūfī orders of the time will, it is to be hoped, lead to a better understanding of the problem as a whole.

To such a Šūfī saint we will now direct our attention. He is important for our purposes; for his descendants, less than two centuries after his death, made of Irān a unified state and

¹ On *taqīya* see a very informative article by R. STROTHMANN in the *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, (Leiden 1953), s. v. "Taḳīya".

² On the massacres in Iṣfahān for example see Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, 199 ff./ GIBB's transl. II, 294–95.

³ Theologians were unable to stop such mass movements, and the rulers "were outwardly respectful to the 'Ulamā, but positively humble before the Šūfī Shaikhs", H. A. R. GIBB, *Mohammedanism: an historical survey*, (Home University Library, 2nd ed., 1953, repr. 1954), p. 144. And who would listen to Sa'd ad-Dīn Taftazānī (d. 792 or 798/1389 or 1395) for example when he says in his *Risāla fi waḥdat al-wuḥūd* (Istanbul, 1294/1877), p. 31:

«وبالجملة كلّ درجة ومرتبة للأولياء فكألفها للأنبياء، لا كما تزعم الجبهة من المتصوّفة أن الولي أفضل من النبي».

Cf. contemporary views on Šūfism by Ibn Taimīya in his *fatwā: as-Šūfiyya wal-fuqarā'* (Cairo 1327/1909), 15–16, and in his *al-Furqān bain auliya' ar-Raḥmān wa-auliya' as-Saiyān* (Cairo 1374/1955), p. 86. Apparently Naṣīr ad-Dīn ʿIṣṣā did not think highly of certain types of Šūfis or darwishes. Witness the following anecdote in Ibn al-Fūṭī's *Ḥawāḍif*, 342 (events of the year 658/1259–60):

حكى أن السلطان (مولاًكو) لَمَّا كَانَ بِوُطَاة حَرَّانَ، وَقَفَ لَهُ جَمْعٌ مِنَ الْفُقَرَاءِ الْقَلَنْدَرِيَّةِ، فَقَالَ لِنَصِيرِ الدِّينِ طُوسِيٍّ: مَا هَؤُلَاءُ؟ قَالَ: فَضْلَةٌ فِي الْعَالَمِ. فَأَمَرَ بِقَتْلِهِمْ فَقُتِلُوا. وَسَأَلَهُ عَنْ مَعْنَى قَوْلِهِ فَقَالَ: النَّاسُ أَرْبَعُ طَبَقَاتٍ بَيْنَ إِمَارَةٍ وَتِجَارَةٍ وَصِنَاعَةٍ وَزِرَاعَةٍ، فَمَنْ لَمْ يَكُنْ مِنْهُمْ كَانَ كَلًّا عَلَيْهِمُ. (الكلّ معناه الثقيل لا خير فيه).

Cf. Ibn Ḥaldūn's views on the composition of Šūfī science ('ilm) in his *Šifā' as-sā'il li-tahqīq al-masā'il* (Istanbul 1957), 70–71. And for a discussion of *tasawwuf* see Ḡāmlī's own introduction to his *Nafahāt al-uns* (Tehran 1336/1958, ed. Maḥdī Tauḥīdī-pūr), pp. 3–30; and Ḡāmlī's treatise on Šūfism, the *Lawḍ'ih*, facsimile edition with translation by E. H. WHINEFIELD and Muḥammad QAZWĪNĪ, London, Royal Asiatic Society, 1928.

established in it the *īḡnā'aṣārī* type of Muslim *Šī'ism*. This was Šaiḥ Šaḡī ad-Dīn of Ardabīl¹.

Chronologically, the earlier part of the history of the Order of Ardabīl covers both the Mongol and Tīmūrid sections of this study, and ends roughly around the middle of the fifteenth century. The remaining fifty years of the century coincide with the later activity of the Order under the Qara-qoyunlu and Aq-qoyunlu dynasties.

However, no purpose will be served by going into the details of the biographies of the scions of the Šafawid family (although these have still to be definitively written). Rather than do that, we shall study the major characteristics of the Order itself as shown by its *šaiḥs*, and relate these to the period and historical development through which the Order passed.

I. Ardabīl

A few words on Ardabīl the town and on its location will help explain certain special peculiarities which the Order furnished. The geographical position of the small town is of extreme importance for a proper understanding of the activity and later development of the family.

As a matter of fact, the entire "province" of Āqarbaigān began to assume a progressively more important role in the area as a whole following the collapse of Bagdād and Iraq in the middle of the thirteenth century. With its capital city of Tabriz, Āqarbaigān was slowly becoming more and more important as the center of the Muslim world at the time². The Mongols soon left Bagdād and built their new capital at Sulṭāniya³. In later Ilḡānid times Tabriz became many times the seat of the Sulṭān and the chief center of the government⁴. During the

¹ In dealing with Šaiḥ Šaḡī ad-Dīn and the Šafawid family an attempt will be made here to distinguish between the work and activities of the first members of the family and the later ones; i. e. the first four "Heads of the Order" (Šaḡī ad-Dīn, Šadr ad-Dīn, Ḥwāḡa 'Alī, and Šaiḥ Ibrāhīm) and the second four "Leaders of the Šafawid Movement" (Šaiḥ Ġunaid, Šaiḥ Ḥaidar, Sulṭān 'Alī Pādīšāh, and Šāh Ismā'īl). This major division will be undertaken to emphasize what appears to have been a definite break in the family tradition from being representatives of a Šūfī order to becoming a militant group with a policy of conquest and dominion.

² The contemporary Marco Polo in *The Description of the World*, ed. A. C. MOULÉ and Paul PELLIOU, v. I (London 1938), p. 104, says: "And the city (Tauris) is set in so good a place that the other merchandise comes there conveniently from Indie . . . and from many other places, and therefore many Latin merchants and especially Genoese come there often to buy of those foreign goods that come there from strange distant lands and to do their business." See also B. SPULER, "La situation de l'Iran à l'époque de Marco Polo", in *Oriente Poliano*, Rome, Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1957, pp. 121-132; and Cf. V. MINORSKY, "Ādharbaydžān", in *EI*, new edition, on the importance of Āqarbaigān and Tabriz during the Mongol-Ilḡānid period.

The city had become so important for European trade that PRGOLOTTI took pains to list toll stations on the road from Ayās (on the Mediterranean) to Tabriz. See Francesco Balducci PRGOLOTTI, *La Pratica della Mercatura*, ed. Allan EVANS (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pp. 389-91. For a contemporary description of Tabriz (تَبْرِيز) see Ibn Faḡl Allāh al-'Umarī (1301-1349), *Masālik al-abṣār* (recent edition of the sections on China, Central Asia, Irān, and the Golden Horde, by Klaus LECH, *Das Mongolische Weltreich*, Wiesbaden 1968), pp. 87-89 of the Arabic text.

³ Southeast of Tabriz on the way to Qazwīn. See above p. 24, n. 1; and 'Umarī/LECH, *Masālik*, p. 86 of the text which reads as follows:

وَأَمَّا السُّلْطَانِيَّةُ فَوَاقِعَةٌ فِي عِرَاقِ الْعِجَمِ، بَنَاهَا السُّلْطَانُ مُحَمَّدُ خُدَائِنْدَةُ أَوَّلُجَايُو بْنُ أَرْغُونِ بْنِ أَبَا بْنِ هَوَلَاكُو رَفَعَ بَنَاهَا وَوَسَّعَ فَنَاهَا وَأَتَقَنَتْ قَسَمَتَهَا فِي الْخَطِّ وَالْأَسْوَاقِ، وَجَلَبَ إِلَيْهَا النَّاسُ مِنْ أَقْطَارِ الْأَرْضِ وَمِنْ أَقْطَارِ مُلْكِهِ، وَاسْتَجْلَبَهُمْ إِلَيْهَا بِمَا بَسَطَ لِسْكَانَهَا مِنَ الْعَدْلِ وَالْإِحْسَانِ. وَهِيَ الْآنَ عَامَرَةٌ أَهْلَةٌ كَأَنَّهَا مَرَّتْ عَلَيْهَا مِثْوَنٌ سَنِينَ لَكثْرَةٍ مِنْ اسْتَوَظَنَهَا وَتَأَهَّلَ بِهَا وَأَوْلَدَ مِنَ الْوَلَدِ فِيهَا، وَقَدْ مَضَتْ عَلَيْهَا مَدَّةٌ بَلَغَ بَنُوهَا مِبَالِغَ الرِّجَالِ، وَبَنِيهَا مِنْ جِازِ الْوَتِيَّةِ الْكَتْبَالِ.

⁴ Marco Polo's contemporary description of the people of the city should not go unnoticed: "For many Christians of every sect may be there (i. e. in Tauris/Tabriz); there are Armenians, Nestorians, and Jacobites, and Georgians, and Persians; and there are also men who worship Mahomet; and these are

post-Mongol Ġalāyir period, Tabriz and Baġdād rivaled each other as the two "capitals" of the domains which the Ġalāyir *sultāns* could at one time or another bring under their sway. Baġdād, too, suffered during this post-Mongol period many destructions as a result of the city having exchanged hands several times by either Ġalāyir or Qara-qoyunlu contenders or claimants or others¹.

It has been pointed out that at the height of Muslim Arab hegemony under the 'Abbāsids, the establishment of the Muslim capital on "Persian" (Sāsānid) soil, i. e. in Baġdād, made the Islamic empire "the heir of the ancient empires of the East"². Moving the capital still further eastwards to Āḍarbaigān, therefore, made the whole of that empire more Persian.

Ardabīl lies many miles due east of Tabriz on the way leading ultimately to the Caspian Sea³. Between them, and rising immediately west of Ardabīl itself, is the Kūh-i Sabalān (15,784 ft.), the highest peak along the mountain ranges extending from the Elburz north-westwards to the Caucasus range⁴. The geographical importance of Ardabīl, however, lies in the fact that its location, roughly thirty miles from the Caspian Sea, controls completely the narrow coastal plain of the Ṭālīš-Gilān region, which at certain points in this area is only ten miles wide⁵.

The importance of this location had been recognized during the zenith of Arab power in this area; and the famous Bāb al-Abwāb (Darband) pass lies along this narrow plain⁶.

The celebrated Muslim geographer Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 627/1229) who visited Ardabīl in 617/1220 appears to have made a narrow escape from the town before it was occupied by the Mongols and savagely destroyed because its inhabitants had put up a stubborn resistance⁷.

the common people of the city (footnote 3: *cioa il popolo minuto della terra*) who are called Taurisin, and they have different speech among them."'; Marco Polo, *The Description of the World*, p. 104. SCHILTBERGER's narrative for the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century is also curious and in part more puzzling: "The chief city of all the kingdoms of Persia is called the city of Thauris. The king of Persia has a larger revenue from Thauris than has the most powerful king in Christendom, because a great many merchants come to it . . . There is also a city called Rei in a large country where they do not believe in Machmet as do other infidels. They believe in a certain Aly who is a great persecutor of the Christian faith; and those of this doctrine are called Raphak (perhaps *rawāfiq/rāfiqīs*)." See *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger*, (from his capture at the battle of Nicopolis in 1396 to his escape and return to Europe in 1427), transl. by J. B. TELFER (The Hakluyt Society, i, 58, 1878), p. 44.

¹ See 'Azzāwī, *Tārīḥ*, II, 110, and III, 85, 158, and *passim*. The poet Salmān Sāwāḡī describes the city following a big flood that left it in ruins: 'Azzāwī, *Tārīḥ*, II, 82-83.

² D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, *The Place of Persia in the History of Islam*, lecture to the Persian Society, April 29, 1925, published London 1925, (translated into Persian by Raḡīd Yāsīmī as *Maqām-i Irān dar tārīḥ-i Islām*, Tehran 1321), p. 18.

³ Yāqūt, *Mu'ḡām al-buldān* (ed. F. WÜSTENFELD, Göttingen 1866), I, 173: «بينها وبين تبريز سبعة أيام» on Āḍarbaigān, Yāqūt says: «وأيها لها الآذرية لا يفهمها غيرهم، وفي أهلها لين وحسن معاملة». - *Ibid.*, I, 197-98.

⁴ Damāwand, northeast of Teheran, is 18,376 ft., and Arārāt in Turkey near the Soviet-Armenian border is 16,946 ft. On Ardabīl see also Amln Aḥmad Rāzi, *Haft iqlīm*, III, 251-52; and on Āḍarbaigān and Ardabīl see Mas'ūd KAIHĀN, *Ġuġrāfiyā-yi muḡaṣṣal-i Irān*, II, 150-78, and *Farhang-i Ġuġrāfiyā-yi Irān*, IV, 11-13.

⁵ Incidentally, Ardabīl nowadays is only about 20 miles from the Russian border of Soviet Āḍarbaigān. We may safely assume that its modern location for traditional tactical purposes is also strategically important.

⁶ See G. LE STRANGE, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1905), 159-160; and V. MINORSKY, *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, 142, and map p. 398 for the area just north of Ardabīl. During the early 'Abbāsid period Ardabīl was the capital of the province of Āḍarbaigān (Le Strange).

⁷ Yāqūt, *Mu'ḡām al-buldān*, I, 197-98:

«وهي مدينة كبيرة جدا رأيتها سنة ١٢٢٠/٦١٧ . . . ثم نزل عليها التتر وأبادهم (أي أهل أردبيل) بعد انفصالي عنها، وجرت بينهم وبين

However, the town must have revived from the Mongol onslaught immediately afterwards, for Yāqūt (who died only nine years after his visit to the town) tells us: "Now the town reverted to its former state and even improved, and it is the land of the Tatars (read Mongols)."¹

This revival may be ascribed either to the activity of the remnants of Ardabil's inhabitants who survived the Mongol massacre, or to the fact that the Mongols themselves must have realized the importance of the town as a gateway to the north country. This latter cause is perhaps the more plausible in view of the continued Mongol invasions to the northwest. The mountain passes and river valleys north of Tabriz and Ardabil lead to Armenian and Georgian territory. The river Araxes (flowing eastwards to the Caspian) and, a little to the north, the river Kura (also flowing in the same direction) harbor deep in their valleys such famous centers as Naḡgawān and Tiflis.

Along this frontier stretched one of the most important borders between *Dār al-Islām* and *Dār al-ḥarb*². Late in the fourteenth century, the area north of Ardabil was under the control of the local family of the Širwān-šāhs, some of whose members spread their influence and dominion to such big centers to the south of them as Tabriz itself³. We shall later in this chapter see how the relations between members of the Šafawid family and the Širwān-šāhs affected the history of the rise of the Šafawids in the late fifteenth century.

Therefore, the rise of a šūfī order along one of the most strategic frontiers of *Dār al-Islām* is not to be dismissed as a common phenomenon. Islam never developed the machinery of spreading the religion in the same way Christian missionaries did in the early Middle Ages⁴, and it was left partly to Šūfī *ṣaiḥs* and their followers to attempt to convert the conquered people to the "straight path".

Unfortunately, however, it is difficult to find any references in the chronicles to the activities of the Šūfī Order of Ardabil among the "infidel" Georgians and Armenians at the more simple and peaceful level of mere religious conversion⁵. This activity, if it could be at all substantiated, is in itself shrouded in other more violent acts of conversion through conquest or by coercion,

أهلها حروب، ومانعوا عن أنفسهم أحسن ممانعة . . . وغزبوا خراباً فاحشاً ثم انصرفوا عنها وهي على صورة قبيلة من الحراب وقلة الأهل . . .

Yāqūt also mentions that "before Islam Ardabil was the capital of the district".

¹ *Ibid.*, 198. On Ardabil see also R. N. FRYE, "Ardabil" in *EI*, new edition (FRYE's article, however, is rather brief and inadequate), and MİRZĀ BALĀ, "Erdebil" in *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, with a long list of sources mainly post-Šafawid.

² "The region (Āḡdarbaigān, Armenia, and Arrān) is the abode of merchants, fighters for the faith (*ḡāzi-yān*), and strangers coming from all parts." MINORSKY, *Hudūd al-'ālam*, 142. "Tiflis . . . is a frontier post (*ṣaḡr*) against the infidels (*bar rūy-i kāfirān*)." *Ibid.*, 144. Yāqūt, *Muḡam al-buldān*, I, 173, says about Āḡdarbaigān:

« . . . وهي بلاد فتنة وحروب ما خلت قط منها، فلذلك أكثر مدنها خراب . . . »

³ See 'Azzāwī, *Tārīḥ*, II, 296, and n. 2, and 300; and III, 32 ff. Šaiḡ Ibrāhīm aṣ-Širwānī, "the founder of the Darband or Širwān government", had conquered Tabriz but evacuated it in 809/1406 when the news came that Sulṭān Aḡmad Ḡālāyir was returning to the city. On the later Širwān-šāhs see V. MINORSKY, *A History of Sharvān and Darband*, Annex I, 129 ff. (after Munagḡimbāšī's *Ġāmi' ad-duwal*).

⁴ It is only today in Africa south of the Sahara that Muslim activities have approached anywhere near the zeal of the missionaries of the Christian world.

⁵ One such story is recorded with understandable zeal by Marco Polo during his stay in Tabriz. The Christians of the city, he says, were asked to move a mountain (with reference to Matthew, 17:20, "If you have faith as a grain of mustard seed, you will say to this mountain, 'Move hence to yonder place', and it will move" – RSV) or else become Muslim or suffer death. Marco Polo, *The Description the World*, 105–112. Mention is made in Ibn Bazzāz, *Šafwat aṣ-ṣafā* of a Georgian village whose inhabitants embraced Islam. See NIKITINE, *Essai*, 389.

inasmuch as Islam considered all the external world (i. e. *Dār al-ḥarb*) as enemy territory whose conquest and annexation into the *Dār al-Islām* was an act of religious duty¹.

In this context, the virtual transformation of the Order at Ardabīl from a peaceful and contemplative society to a militant and aggressive body of armed warriors with definite *ḡāzī* overtones, occurred much later towards the middle of the fifteenth century. This extraordinary change that overtook the Order, long after the Ottoman *ḡāzīs* had pushed into the Balkans, will be discussed and compared to the successful Ottoman experiment in a later section of this study.

2. *Šaiḥ Šafī ad-Dīn and the Early Šafawids*

However, it is sufficient to point out at present that more is known about the Order of Ardabīl and its influence among the Turkmān tribes, who since the Mongol conquest had been roaming in a more or less nomadic fashion throughout the entire area under discussion: Irān, Iraq, and Anatolia. This coincided almost exactly with the life span of the founder Šaiḥ Šafī ad-Dīn himself, who was born in 650/1252 at the height of Mongol-Ilḥānid power in the area, and who died in 735/1334, eighty-two years later. A Mongol superintendent of finances of nearby Qazwīn, a historian, poet, and geographer of the Ilḥānid period, Ḥamd Allāh Mustaufī of Qazwīn², has left us one of the earliest, if not the earliest, authoritative references on Šaiḥ Šafī ad-Dīn, written in 731/1330, only four years before Šaiḥ Šafī's death. In it he tells us that Šaiḥ Šafī ad-Dīn is still alive and is very influential. The Mongol rulers respect him, and he has saved many people from being harmed at their hands³.

In his geographical work, *Nuḡḡat al-qulūb*, completed in 741/1340, six years after Šaiḥ Šafī's death, Ḥamd Allāh Mustaufī – in his description of Ardabīl of the fourth clime – mentions Šaiḥ Šafī ad-Dīn again, but by using the formula "May God have mercy on him" we know that the old man had died. Ḥamd Allāh adds the very useful information that most of the people of Ardabīl are Šafī'is and are the followers (*murīds*) of Šaiḥ Šafī ad-Dīn⁴.

These two contemporary references to Šaiḥ Šafī, made by someone who, as a government official, a *mustaufī* or tax-collector, is a highly dependable authority, leave us with two significant facts about the Order of Ardabīl during the life of its most illustrious founder; namely, one: the high respect which the Order and Šaiḥ Šafī enjoyed under the Mongols, and two: the curious fact that most of the inhabitants of Ardabīl were of the Šafī'ī school and were followers of Šaiḥ Šafī ad-Dīn. In the light of these two facts we shall now attempt to recapitulate certain other controversial matters dealing with the great Šaiḥ. These matters concern the origin of the family, its claims to an 'Alid descent and its alleged early *šī'ī* leanings, and whether or not Šaiḥ Šafī ad-Dīn himself was a *sayyid* or was referred to as such by his contemporaries.

¹ This is the "lesser *ḡihād*" as opposed to the "greater *ḡihād*" which is the spiritual and moral conquest of the soul, etc. The "lesser *ḡihād*" is a *farḍ kifāya* or collective obligation. See E. Tyan, "Djihād" in *EI*, new edition.

² Ḥamd Allāh Mustaufī of Qazwīn wrote three important works: *Tārīḥ-i Guzida*, composed in 731/1330; *Zafarnāma*, a poem modeled on Firdausī's *Šāhnāma*, completed in 736/1335; and *Nuḡḡat al-qulūb*, a geographical work finished in 741/1340. On him see Browne, *LHP*, III, 87–100.

³ Ḥamd Allāh Mustaufī, *Tārīḥ-i Guzida*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥusain NAW'Ā'ī (Tehran, 1336–39/1958–61), 675: «شیخ سنّی الدین اردبیلی در حیات است، و مریدی صاحب وقت و قبول عظیم دارد، و ببرکت آنکه مغول را با او ارادت تمام است بسیاری از آن قوم را ایذا بمردم رسانیدن باز می دارد، و این کاری عظیم است.»

⁴ Ḥamd Allāh Mustaufī, *Nuḡḡat al-qulūb*, ed. Guy LE STRANGE. GMS, XXIII, 1331/1913, and translated by him, GMS, XXIII–2, 1919. Reference is from the text, 81/transl., 83–84:

«اردبیل از اقلیم چهارم است . . . اکثر (مردم) بر مذهب شافعی اند، و مریدی شیخ سنّی الدین علیه الرحمة اند.»

The whole problem has been discussed at length in a series of three articles on the origin of the Şafawids by one of the leading Persian scholars of modern times, Aḥmad KASRAWĪ (Tabrizi)¹. Other well-known authorities and scholars have also dealt with this subject². The problem need not be revived here in great detail; it may be briefly summarized as follows: the allegation of the 'Alid descent of Šaiḥ Šafi and his having been himself a *sayyid* were the work of later Şafawid historians whose patrons, the Şafawid *šāhs*, in their attempt to consolidate their power in Irān, caused their court historians to make up such claims.

The work where the interpolation was made concerns a "re-editing" of a book written shortly after Šaiḥ Šafi's death by Tawakkul ibn al-Bazzāz ca. 751/1350 entitled *Şafwat aš-Şafā*. The "editor" of this work, Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Ḥusainī, who belongs to the reign of Šāh Tahmāsb (930-984/1523-1576), states in the first few pages of his recension that "he had received royal command to revise and correct *Şafwat aš-şafā*"³.

The original work is in effect nothing but an account of Šaiḥ Šafi ad-Dīn's birth and early life, his miraculous deeds, his sayings and his speeches, his mode of life, his last malady and death. Ibn al-Bazzāz also mentions Šaiḥ Šafi's son, Şadr ad-Dīn, and refers to his own relation to the Ardabīl Order.

Aḥmad KASRAWĪ who strongly doubted the genealogical descent of Šaiḥ Šafi ad-Dīn from the 'Alids ascribed the story to interpolations by Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Ḥusainī, as well as to Iskandar Munšī, author of the famous work on Šāh 'Abbās, the *Tārīḫ-i 'ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsi*⁴. Kasrawī points out that in the period between Šaiḥ Šafi ad-Dīn and his great descendant in the sixth generation Šāh Ismā'īl, three changes took place in the tradition: one, Šaiḥ Šafi ad-Dīn was not a *sayyid* – his descendants claimed this for him and for themselves; two, Šaiḥ Šafi was a *Sunni* of the Šāfi'i school – his descendants accepted (*padīrustān*) Ši'ism; and three, Šaiḥ Šafi knew Persian and Āḡarī the Turkish dialect of Āḡarbaigān – his descendants knew only Turkish. KASRAWĪ gives instances where he believes the original text of Ibn al-Bazzāz's *Şafwat aš-şafā* was tampered with and proves this on the basis of variant readings in several manuscripts. In one specific case where the indication was to have been to Šaiḥ Šafi ad-Dīn's Sunni-Šāfi'i-

¹ The articles appeared originally in *Āyanda*, an erstwhile scholarly Persian journal, v. II (1926-28), pp. 357 ff., 389 ff., and 801 ff. Subsequently, the material appeared in book form under the title *Šaiḥ Šafi va tabāraš*, to which the present writer has unfortunately had no access. However, there is every reason to believe that the articles in book form contain no additional information. On KASRAWĪ see above p. 20, n. 4.

² Z. V. TOGAN, V. MINORSKY, Muḥammad QAZWĪNĪ, and others; see below for a description of their views on this matter.

³ RIEU, *Cat. of Pers. MSS.*, I, 345-46. According to RIEU internal evidence shows that the work, *Şafwat aš-şafā*, was contemporary with Šaiḥ Šafi ad-Dīn, and that "the additions of the editor appear to be confined to the preface (*muqaddima*) and the conclusion (*ḥāliṃa*)". The preface deals with prophecies on the advent of Šaiḥ Šafi, and the *ḥāliṃa* contains an account of his descendants down to Šāh Tahmāsb. (RIEU is here describing the British Museum MS. Add. 11, 745 of *Şafwat aš-şafā*). – For a detailed analysis of the 1329/1911, 358-page edition of *Şafwat aš-şafā* done by Aḥmad ibn Karīm TABRIZĪ and published in Bombay, see B. NIKITINE, "Essai d'analyse du *Şafwat-uš-Şafā*", *JA*, 245 (1957), 385-94. This lithograph edition of *Şafwat* was not available to me. However, I was able to check most of the references given by the late M. NIKITINE against a photocopy of the India Office MS. of *Şafwat*, No. 1842. This manuscript is described by ETHÉ, *Cat. of Pers. MSS.*, I, col. 1008. From the colophon, p. 342 b, it appears that this copy is an autograph of Tawakkul ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ḥāggī al-Ardabīlī (Ibn-i Bazzāz), dated Ša'bān 759/July-August 1358, i. e. about 23 years after the death of Šaiḥ Šafi ad-Dīn. Z. V. TOGAN, in *Mélanges Massignou*, III, 353 ff., is certain that the ETHÉ MS. 1842 is not an autograph, and states that it is the work of a copyist "qui ne serait pas antérieure au 17^e siècle". However, M. TOGAN has not used this MS. in his comparative article mentioned here. For the three MSS. used by him see below, p. 48, note 7.

⁴ On this important chronicle of the period of Šāh 'Abbās completed in 1025/1616, see now DICKSON, *Shāh Tahmāsb and the Ūzbeks*, Appendix II, "Sources and Bibliography", lxii.

beliefs, changes had been introduced to make the phrase read: "*Maḏhab-o-mašrab-i ḥaqq-i ḥaqīqī-yi Ġa'farī . . .*"¹. On the author, KASRAWĪ concludes that "*Darwīš Tawakkul ibn Ismā'il known as Ibn al-Bazzāz, was from Ardabil, and was a murid of Šaiḥ Šadr ad-Dīn, son of Šafī ad-Dīn. He wrote a book entitled Šafwat aš-šafā which contains the life, karāmāt and maqāmāt of Šaiḥ Šafī ad-Dīn. This book . . . is the oldest source on Šaiḥ Šafī and his ancestors; but unfortunately that book did not come down to us in the form it was written. The copies which we now have had undergone all kinds of manipulations at the hands of the murids of the Šafawid family.*"² On the mishandling of the original work KASRAWĪ goes on to say that "*The murids of that family have changed every statement and story in Ibn al-Bazzāz's book which had indications of the non-sayyid-ship and non-šī'ism of Šaiḥ Šafī, or they have removed that altogether. They added stories and statements which agreed with their own inclination and opinion,*"³ and adds that "*(Therefore), every story and statement which has indications of the sayyid-ship of the family is not to be trusted*"⁴.

The Persian scholar also draws attention to the fact that Šaiḥ Šafī ad-Dīn had only the simple title (*laqab*) of *šaiḥ*, whereas religious figures among his contemporaries or near-contemporaries enjoyed such titles as *sayyid*, *mīr*, or *šāh*, thus indicating either their 'Alid descent or their holding of temporal power⁵.

A similar conclusion was arrived at by the great Turkish scholar Zeki Velidi TOĞAN working independently many years after KASRAWĪ⁶. TOĞAN again worked with several manuscripts of *Šafwat aš-šafā*⁷, and gave selections from two of them *in extenso* to show how the original text of Ibn al-Bazzāz had been tampered with⁸. TOĞAN concludes that "*Il ne fait aucun doute que les souverains Shāh Ismā'il et Shāh Ṭahmāsb se sont donné toutes les peines du monde pour effacer de l'histoire leur origine kurde, pour attribuer au kurde Firouz la qualité de descendant du Prophète, et pour faire valoir que le Shaykh Safi était un shaykh turc shi'ite, auteur de poèmes turcs.*"⁹

If Šaiḥ Šafī ad-Dīn was neither an 'Alid *sayyid* nor a *šī'i* what then was he? One thing remains quite established: that he was a Šūfī *šaiḥ* having a *ṭarīqa* of his own and through his

¹ KASRAWĪ, *Āyanda*, II, 362; see also footnote on the same page where KASRAWĪ mentions the manuscripts he was dealing with.

² *Ibid.*, II, 361.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 362: «هر گونه حکایت و عبارتی هم که دلالت بر سیادت آنحضرت داشته باشد محل اطمینان نیست» - Cf. V. MINORSKY in "Tawakkul ibn Bazzāz", *EI*, first edition.

⁵ KASRAWĪ, *Āyanda*, II, 491. Among the names given are such well-known figures as:

سید جمال الدین تبریزی مرشد شیخ زاهد گیلانی - امیر قاسم یا شاه قاسم انوار تبریزی مرید شیخ صدر الدین - سید محمد مشعش مؤسس

مشعشیمان خوزستان - میر نعمت الله یا شاه نعمت الله (ولی) کرمانی - سید محمد نور بخش - میر مخنوم مرید شاه قاسم انوار and others. Reference will be made to some of these figures and their religious views in a later section below. Cf. a similar view presented by Muḥammad QAZWĪNĪ in his article "Farmān-i Sulṭān Aḥmad Ġalāyir", *Yādīgar*, I, No. 4 (Tehran, 1323/1945), p. 29. QAZWĪNĪ points out to the form in which Šaiḥ Šadr ad-Dīn, son and successor of Šafī ad-Dīn, is addressed in the *farmān*, and states that no titles such as *amīr*, *sayyid*, *murtaza a'zam*, *sulṭān al-'itra*, or *ḡalāl al-ašraf* are used. On the terms *šarīf*, *sayyid*, etc., see RAUPÄTI, *Ġāmi' al-Ansāb*, I, Introduction, p. 30 ff.

⁶ Z. V. TOĞAN, "Sur l'origine des Safavides", *Mélanges Massignon*, III, (Damas, 1957) 345-357.

⁷ *Ibid.* Two of the manuscripts date from the pre-Safawid era: Leyden No. 2639 (dated 890/1485), and Āyā Sofiā No. 3099 (dated 896/1491), and a third, Āyā Sofiā No. 2123 dating from the early years of Šah Ismā'il, 914/1508. TOĞAN compared the two Āyā Sofiā MSS., and had K. JAHN compare that with the Leyden MS. for him.

⁸ *Ibid.* for texts compared, pp. 347-51 and 354.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 356. In a P. S. to the article in question, TOĞAN acknowledges the similar findings by KASRAWĪ, and refers to KASRAWĪ's *Šaiḥ Šafī wa-tabāraš* (Tehran 1323/1944). See above p. 47, note 1.

saintly way of life he had attracted the attention of both the ruling power of the Mongols and the common people, first in his home town and then far and wide among the roaming and restless Turkmān tribes. As Faḍl Allāh ibn Rūzbihān Ḥunḡī (whom we met in the preceding chapter refuting a šī'ī work by Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī)¹ puts it in his *Tārīḥ-i 'ālam-ārā-yi Amīnī*: "The first who raised the ensign of excellence in this family was the unique of the world Shaykh Šafī al-Dīn Ishāq . . . (who) finished his days in Ardabīl, where he was directing his followers. The amirs of Ṭālish turned his residence into their refuge and the great men of Rūm honoured him."²

In several places of *Šafwat aš-šafā*, the *sīra* ("role" – so to speak) of Šaiḥ Šafī ad-Dīn is described. "In his entire life", we are told, "he followed the *šarī'a* to such an extent that, in his words and deeds, not a hair-breadth did he deviate from it³." In the section describing the granting of succession (*istiḥlāf* and *iḡāza*) from Šaiḥ Zāhid to Šaiḥ Šafī ad-Dīn⁴, it is spelled out that the Order shall have nothing to do with the squabbles between the various Muslim sects (*bida'*), and that "in this place (i. e. in Ardabīl), except for the *sunna* and *ḡamā'a*, there has not been and there is no dispute and diversity of opinion of the schools (*maḏāhib*) such as the Aš'ariya, Mu'tazila, Qadariya, Muṣabbaha, Muḡassama, Mu'aṭṭala, and others⁵."

Šaiḥ Šafī was asked once: "What is your *maḏhab*?" He replied that he believed in the *maḏhab* of the *imāms* (i. e. the four schools of Abū Hanīfa, Šāfi'ī, Mālik, and Ibn Ḥanbal) whom he loved, and that from among the (four) *maḏāhib* he chose those *ḥadīths* that had the strongest chain of authority (*asnaḍ*) and are the best (*aḡwad*), and applied them. He added that he did not allow for himself or his *murīds* any licence in these matters but rather carried out the details that are expressed in the various *maḏāhib*⁶.

It appears too that Šaiḥ Šafī ad-Dīn had left some written material before he died. This, however, has not come down to us in any "collected" form. And while the statements and sayings ascribed to Šaiḥ Šafī in the innumerable *ḥikāyāt* of *Šafwat aš-šafā* (as told to Ibn al-Bazzāz upon the authority of Šaiḥ Šafī's son, Šaiḥ Šadr ad-Dīn, as well as by many other contemporaries of Šaiḥ Šafī) can be more or less trusted and accepted, the actual work or works (including poetry) said to have been written by Šaiḥ Šafī himself await a close and thorough investigation before they can be accepted as authentic writings⁷. The weight of the

¹ See above, p. 30, n. 8.

² Ḥunḡī/MINORSKY, *Persia*, 62. Ibn Rūzbihān Ḥunḡī mentions an invitation to Šaiḥ Šafī ad-Dīn by Sultān Ulḡaitū to which Šadr ad-Dīn was sent to represent his father.

³ *Šafwat aš-šafā*, p. 250a (Chapter Eight: On the *sīra* of Šaiḥ Šafī ad-Dīn; Section One: On his following in the footsteps of the Prophet):

«در مجموع عمر چنان قدم بر متابعت شریعت نهاد که ازو سر موئی خلاف شریعت در وجود نیامد نه بقول نه بفعل.»

⁴ Which begins p. 30b, and is entitled:

«در ذکر استخلاف شیخ زاهد قدس الله روحه العزیز شیخ صلی الدین را قدس الله سره واجازة توبه وتلقین دادن.»

⁵ *Šafwat aš-šafā*, p. 35b:

«در اینجا (یعنی در اردبیل) بغیر از سنت وجماعت خلاف و اختلاف مذاهب چون اشعریه و معتزله و قدریه و مشبهه و مجسسه و معتله و غیرها هرگز نبوده و نباشد.»

⁶ *Ibid.*, 250b–251a:

«فصل دوم: در مذهب شیخ صلی الدین قدس الله سره که شیخ را مذهب چیست؟ فرمود که ما مذهب الله داریم و الله را دوست داریم و در مذاهب هر چه آسند و آجود می بود آنرا اختیار کرد و بدان عمل میکرد. و راه رخصت و سهولت بر خود و مریدان منسذ و بسته میگردانید که رخصت میدان نفس را فراخ میکند و بر رخصت (?) عمل نمیکرد و بدقائق آقاویل و وجوه که در مذاهب است کار میکرد.»

⁷ The whole question of the writings of Šaiḥ Šafī ad-Dīn needs to be studied carefully: Faḍl Isfahānī, the author of *Afsar al-lawāriḥ* (a Šafawid history of Šāh Ṭahmāsb, written in 1026/1617, on which see now DICKSON, *Šāh Ṭahmāsb and the Uzbeks*, Appendix II, "Sources and Bibliography", p. xlv), mentions a work entitled *Maqāmāt wa-maḡālāt* ascribed to Šaiḥ Šafī ad-Dīn. According to MINORSKY (*T. M.*, 113,

evidence here appears to be that this material is of a much later vintage, and that all if not most of it is apocryphal. Much of it seems to have emanated from an original source which may be none other than the *Šafwat aš-šafā* itself.

The claim to *sayyid*-ship relating the Šafawid *dūdman* to Ḥazrat-i 'Alī involves only one section of Šaiḥ Šafi ad-Dīn's genealogy – that which precedes his ancestor Fīrūz-šāh (*zarrīn*-

n. 6 and "A Mongol Decree . . .", *BSOAS*, 16 (1954), 516, n. 1), the work appears to be "the extraordinary events of the life of (Šaiḥ Šafi ad-Dīn's) ancestors and his own to the year 735/1334." Šaiḥ Šafi wrote this collection, which was evidently intended for the guidance of his followers, in Persian and Turkish in a book called *Qarā-mağmū'a*, and gave them the title of *Siyar aš-šūfiya*.

Chardin who traveled in Irān during the late Šafawid period states (according to MINORSKY, *T. M.*, 113 – the reference there is to *Voyages de Chevalier Chardin*, ed. LANGE, 10. v. Paris 1811) that before the Šāh went to war auguries were read from the book *Karāğāmea* supposed to have been written by Šaiḥ Šafi. MINORSKY believes that the *Karāğāmea* is the same as the *Mağmū'at wa-mağlālāt* mentioned by the author of *Afzal al-tawārīḥ*. – In the list of Šī'ī works, *Kašf al-ḥuḡub wal-astār*, by KANTŪRĪ, a short entry (No. 2069) describes a book entitled *Šafwat al-anbiyā' fī dhikr karāmāt al-aqṭāb*, written by "Šaiḥ Šafi ad-Dīn Ishāq al-Ardabīlī who died in 735/1334; the book is mentioned by Šaiḥ Bahā'ī in his *Tauḍīḥ al-mağāṣid* where he says that it is a famous work".

A work on the scholars of Āqdarbaigān, the *Dānišmandān-i Āqdarbaigān*, compiled by Muḥammad 'Alī Tarbiyat (Tehran 1314/1936), refers in the entry on Šaiḥ Šafi ad-Dīn (p. 234) to the fact that the *Qarā-mağmū'a* was not to be found except in the library of the Šafawid Šāhs:

«بقای و غریبی نیز در تذکره پارسی و ترکی خودشان شرح حال مفصل از وی (یعنی شیخ صنی الدین) نوشته و کتابی بعنوان «قرا مجموعه» بحضرت شیخ نسبت داده و گفته اند نسخه آن مجموعه جز در خزانه کتب سلاطین صفویه در جای دیگر موجود نیست. غریبی مزبور استناداً قسمی از محتویات آنرا نیز ذکر کرده است».

The above mentioned Baqā'ī "was a well-known qāḍī of Ardabīl and wrote poetry in Turkish"; *ibid.*, p. 70. Garfībī could not be further identified.

Sams ad-Dīn PARWĪZĪ, a modern writer, in his work *Kitāb Taḡkīrat al-auliyyā'* (Tabriz 1332/1373/1953-54), quotes from Ibn al-Bazzāz' *Šafwat aš-šafā*, and refers to it by the title: «مقامات حضرت» (p. 203). Incidentally, PARWĪZĪ attacks KASRAWĪ for his anti-Šī'ī views (p. 28-29). The *auliyyā'* with whom this work deals claim descent from the 8th Imām, 'Alī ar-Riḍā.

Z. V. TOĞAN in "Londra ve Tahrandaki islami yazmalardan bazilarına dair", *İslam Tashihleri Enstitüsü Dergisi*, v. III, pts. 1-2, 1959-60 (Istanbul 1960), lists two manuscripts at the "Kütüphane-i Saltanati" of Tehran: No. 847, *Tezkire-i Seyh Safi*, and No. 2762, *Mağlālāt-i Turki Seyh Safi*. The former, he says, was written by Hāğgī Tawakkulī (Ibn Bazzāz), translated by Muḥammad Strāzī: a mixture of Čağatay and Āqdar-i Oğūz Turks; the work goes back to the early Šafawids. The latter (see also his article in *Mélanges Massignon*, III, p. 355, where the number of this MS. is given as 2761) originally by Tawakkulī, was translated under Šāh Ṭahmāsb in 949/1542 to Čağatay mixed with west Turkish.

Perhaps of another type of material, but also ascribed to Šaiḥ Šafi ad-Dīn, is the *Manāqib* or *Buyūruq*, the text of which is given (pp. 145-191) in a work by Aḥmad Ḥāmid AŞ-ŞARRĀF entitled *aš-Šabah: min firaq al-ğulāh fī al-'Irāq*, Bagdād 1373/1954. The work is in Ottoman Turkish (?) and is largely a dialogue between Šaiḥ Šafi ad-Dīn and Šaiḥ Sadr ad-Dīn. It urges piety, good deeds, faithfulness to the family of the Prophet, etc., and contains prayers, mirror literature, *šūfī* utterances, and the like (*Ibid.*, pp. 3-7, and Arabic translation pp. 192-217). The *Buyūruq* also contains some verse by Ḥaṭṭā'ī, i. e. Šāh Ismā'īl. AŞ-ŞARRĀF is of the opinion (p. 143) that the author "was a contemporary of Šaiḥ Sadr ad-Dīn, and one of his disciples and *murīds*". TOĞAN in the article mentioned above, p. 152, states that the *Buyūruq* is the western Turkish form of Tawakkulī's *Šafwat aš-šafā*.

Finally, reference should be made to a short excerpt (pp. 87-92 of the text, 130-131 of the summary translation) from a work called "Taḍkara-yi a'lā" reproduced by W. IVANOW in his *Mağmū'a-yi rasā'il va aš'ār-i Ahl-i Haqq*, (English title: *The Truth-worshippers of Kurdistan; Ahl-i Haqq texts*), Brill, 1953. This excerpt ends with the following curious statement:

«و بعد از رحلت شیخ زاهد مجاور گردید. و دو تا پسر از شیخ صنی بظهور آمد: یکی شاه نعمت الله بود و یکی دیگر شاه حیدر. و شاه نعمه الله مجرّد شد و شاه حیدر مجاور شد که شاه اسماعیل از او بوجود آمد».

– which should give one some idea of how the tradition had become, with the passage of time, mutilated beyond recognition.

kuḷāh). That from Firūz to Šaiḥ Šafi (through 'Awaḍ, Muḥammad, Šalāḥ, Quṭb ad-Dīn, and Ġibrā'īl) appears to be fairly well-established and is generally accepted as authentic. The fourteen generations which relate Firūz-šāh to the Seventh Imām Mūsā al-Kāzīm is recognized as spurious and as the work of later Šafawid authors¹.

However, in order to appreciate better the growth and development of the Ardabīl Order and trace the changes that overtook it during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and, at the same time, follow its relations geographically and dynastically throughout the area under consideration (i. e. Irān, Iraq, and Anatolia), it is best to treat it under three broad headings: one, the background period of Šaiḥ Šafi's ancestors from Firūz-šāh through Šaiḥ Amin ad-Dīn Ġibrā'īl; two, the period of the Šūfī order proper from Šaiḥ Šafi through Šadr ad-Dīn, Ḥwāḡa 'Alī, and Šaiḥ Ibrāhīm; and three, the period of the later leaders of the "Ardabīl movement", i. e. Ġunaid, Ḥaidar, Sultān 'Alī, and Šāh Ismā'īl. (Between the period of the Ardabīl "Order" and that of the Ardabīl "movement" two short digressions will be introduced, one dealing with the contemporary question of folk Islam in Anatolia, and the other summing up the story of *iṣnā'āsharī* Šī'ism as it developed during the period of the post-Īlḡānid successor dynasties.)

3. From Firūz-šāh through Amin ad-Dīn Ġibrā'īl: The Beginnings

No substantive information is to be found in the sources about the ancestors of Šaiḥ Šafi ad-Dīn before Firūz-šāh other than the doubtful genealogical line that relates Šaiḥ Šafi to the Sixth Imām Mūsā al-Kāzīm.

From Firūz-šāh to Šaiḥ Šafi the "historical" information is sketchy, but the picture can be fairly reconstructed: It is that of a well-to-do family holding Ardabīl and its dependencies as an *iqṭā'* from the central government. Firūz is both wealthy and well-versed in the religious sciences; he chose Ġilān as the pasture ground for his large flocks. 'Awaḍ for some unknown reason chose to spend most of his life in the nearby village of Isfaraṅḡān. Muḥammad showed early signs of *šūfism*: he disappeared for a few years and then showed up wearing a head gear and cloak peculiar to Šūfis. We are told that the people when they saw that were amazed. Šalāḥ ad-Dīn Rašīd reverted to agriculture and the ways of *dihqāns* – the traditional occupation

¹ A work which combines the traditional account as well as later Šafawid accretions is *Silsilat an-nasab-i Šafawīya*, composed during the reign of Šāh Sulaimān (1078–1106/1667–94) by Šaiḥ Ḥusain ibn Abdāl Zāhidī, a descendant of Šaiḥ Zāhid of Ġilān the *muršid* of Šaiḥ Šafi. The *Silsilat* deals more with the religious-*šāfi* "history" rather than the political-*šī'i* aspects of the Šafawid family (see BROWNE, "Note . . .", *JRAS* (1921), 396–97 and 416). A long *ḥalīma* (pp. 74–116) is in fact on the Zāhidī family itself and its relations to the Šafawid *dūdman* (for a genealogical table of the Zāhidīs see MINORSKY, "A Mongol Decree" 517). The author who seems to be using Ibn al-Bazzāz' *Šafwat aš-šafā* rather extensively (as well as other sources: cf. the *Silsilat*, pp. 45–50 with the photostatic text in H. HORST, *Timur und Hoḡa 'Alī*, p. 5b) does not appear to be interested in the Ġunaid-Ḥaidar movement (to which he devotes only pp. 66–67) but is concerned rather with the earlier Šūfī period of the Order. The genealogical descent of the family according to *Silsilat* (pp. 10–11) is as follows:

«شيخ صلي الدين ابو الفتح اسحق ابن شيخ امين الدين جبرائيل بن قطب الدين ابن صالح بن محمد الحافظ ابن عوض ابن فيروز شاه زرين
كلاه ابن محمد ابن شرفشاه ابن محمد ابن حسن ابن سيد محمد ابن ابراهيم ابن سيد جعفر بن سيد محمد ابن سيد اسمعيل بن سيد محمد بن
سيد احمد اعرابي بن سيد قاسم بن سيد ابو القاسم حمزه بن موسى الكاظم ابن جعفر الصادق ابن محمد الباقر ابن امام زين العابدين ابن
حسين ابن علي ابن ابي طالب عليه السلام».

Cf. Ḥwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb as-siyar*, IV, 409–410. There are minor differences between this and the list in *Šafwat aš-šafā* (p. 8a): all *sayyids* have been added here, the additional *ḥunnya* "Abu Bakr" is deleted from Quṭb ad-Dīn's name, and so is the *nisba* "al-Kurdi" from that of Firūz-šāh. In the list of children and grand-children of Mūsā ibn Ga'far al-Šādiq given in Rawḡātī, *Ġāmi' al-ansāb*, I, text, p. 2, no Ḥamza ibn Mūsā is mentioned.

of the family. With Quṭb ad-Dīn (Šaiḥ Šafi's grandfather), the first mention is made of an attack by the Georgians who occupy Ardabīl and plunder it, killing several thousands of its inhabitants. Quṭb ad-Dīn is pictured as a mighty warrior whose "heroic" deeds are described in some detail. His son Amin ad-Dīn Ġibrā'īl turns to agriculture and pious worship¹.

Aside from the clash with the Georgians during Quṭb ad-Dīn's time, the "history" of Šaiḥ Šafi's six ancestors does not furnish us with anything outstanding about the family before Šaiḥ Šafi's time. The "war" with the Georgians, however, presaged of things to come, and in it can be seen the beginnings of the *ġāzī* activities of the Order. These, however, were not to become full-fledged until the coming of Ġunaid and Ḥaidar almost two and a half centuries afterwards.

4. From Šaiḥ Šafi ad-Dīn to Šaiḥ Ibrāhīm: The Šūfī Order

The next period, i. e. that of Šaiḥ Šafi ad-Dīn, his son, his grandson, and his great-grandson, covers the affairs of the Order of Ardabīl until the mid-fifteenth century. This is a richly documented period, and one feels that the sources, both hagiographical, biographical and chronicle, treat it with a nostalgia reminiscent of the way Arab and Muslim classical historians treat the era of the Prophet and the first four Caliphs. There is perhaps more similarity in this than strikes the eye at first glance. For this is the period of the establishment of the Order and of its first four heads: pious men of exemplary conduct and character, loved by their followers and respected by the temporal powers in Tabriz or Sulṭāniya, in Baġdād or Māwarā'annahr, by Mongols, Ilhānids, Ġalāyirs, Ġübānids, Timūr, and the Timūrids. The later chroniclers from Ḥwāndamir through Hasan-i Rūmlū, Iskandar Munši, Zāhidī, and many others, talk briefly but reverently about Šaiḥ Šafi, Šaiḥ Šadr, Ḥwāġa 'Alī, and Šaiḥ Ibrāhīm. It sounds like the "golden age". Even tempestuous Sunnī authors like Faḍl Allāh ibn Rūzbihān Ḥunġi have only good words to say about "the unique of the world Šaiḥ Šafi ad-Dīn Iṣḥāq" and his immediate successors².

Šaiḥ Šafi is pictured in the sources as a man with a message and a driving force. He is at once a holy man and a man who is worldly-wise. Almost every page of the long and ponderous *Šafwat aš-šafā* pays tribute to his wisdom, his piety, and his deep knowledge both of the religious and secular sciences³. In short, he is the quintessence and end result of centuries of

¹ On Fīrūz-šāh see *Šafwat*, 8b; *Ḥabīb as-siyar*, IV, 410; and *Silsilat*, 11. On 'Awaḍ see *Šafwat*, 9a (which calls him 'Awwāḍ); *Ḥabīb*, IV, 410-11; and *Silsilat*, 11. On Muḥammad (who is further described as al-Ḥāfiẓ, i. e. of the Qur'ān) see *Šafwat*, 9a; *Ḥabīb*, IV, 411; and *Silsilat*, 11. Šāliḥ in the *Silsilat* is probably an error; both *Šafwat* and *Ḥabīb as-siyar* have Šalāḥ. On Quṭb ad-Dīn see *Šafwat*, 9a-9b; *Ḥabīb*, IV, 411-12; and *Silsilat*, 12 (the *Silsilat* has Abū Bāqī instead of Abū Bakr). And finally on Amin ad-Dīn Ġibrā'īl see *Ḥabīb*, IV, 412-13; and *Silsilat*, 14.

According to NIKITINE (*Essai*, 391) the attack by the Georgians on Ardabīl is the only historical event in the *Šafwat*, the rest being Mongolica. The raid, according to MINORSKY, *Studies in Caucasian History*, p. 103 and n. 1, was in revenge of the sack of Ani by the "sultān" of Ardabīl. The surrounding area was still in a state of destruction during Šaiḥ Šafi ad-Dīn; see *Šafwat*, 171a.

² See above, p. 49.

³ *Šafwat aš-šafā*, 10b, testifies to Šaiḥ Šafi's well-rounded education:

«واز اشعار ونکات ولطایف حظی تمام یافت واز لغات عربی و ترکی و پارسی و مغول حظی وافر یافت.»

The *Silsilat* reproduces several couplets by him in dialect (Gillāki, according to BROWNE, "Note", 402) which the author explains in "standard" Persian. In one of them (p. 31) "[Ḥaẓrat-i 'Alī] murtaẓā" is mentioned, and in another - this time a Persian *rubā'i* - the words "mihr-i 'Alī" occur, (p. 35). Šarrāf in *al-Šabah*, p. 240, quotes another Persian *rubā'i* ascribed to Šaiḥ Šafi ad-Dīn:

هر که رسی بخلوت یار ای دل از من پسران کلام بسیار ای دل
وآنکه خبر از خرابی حالم گو زبهار ای دل هزار زبهار ای دل

Islamic culture. His *karāmāt* ("miracles" is perhaps not the most felicitous translation) are remembered through many successive generations¹.

In true Šūfī fashion Šaiḥ Šafī ad-Dīn spent the better part of his life in search for inspiration and guidance, which he finally found in the company of Šaiḥ Zāhid of Gīlān whose *ḥariqa* goes back to 'Alī and Muḥammad through a long chain of Šūfī leaders which includes such luminaries as Abū Naḡīb Suhrawardī and Ḥasan al-Baṣrī². He accompanied Šaiḥ Zāhid for twenty-five years, took his daughter to wife, and became head of the Order upon Šaiḥ Zāhid's death³. His followers, according to the exaggerations of the sources, became innumerable⁴.

The Order was highly respected by the civil authorities both during Šaiḥ Šafī's days and those of his three immediate successors. The Mongol Ilkhāns and their chief ministers paid homage to Šaiḥ Šafī ad-Dīn⁵; so did the Ġalāyirs to Šaiḥ Šadr ad-Dīn⁶; and Tīmūr and his successors to Ḥwāḡa 'Alī⁷. This high esteem to the Order and its *ṣaiḥs* in fact continued into the fifteenth century during the later dynasties of the Qara-qoyunlu and Aq-qoyunlu. But at that time, as we shall see, the approach was totally different, for by then the Order had become a power to contend with and a force to seek assistance and support from.

Šaiḥ Šafī is said to have refused an autograph copy of the *Gulistan* presented to him by Sa'dī, saying: «با این دیوان بخدا نمی توان رسید».

¹ *Šafwat aṣ-ṣafā* explains the difference between *mu'ḡizāt* and *karāmāt* as follows: *nubuwwat* (prophecy) and *waḥy* (revelation) equals *mu'ḡizāt*; while *wilāyat* (sanctity?) plus *ilhām* (inspiration) equal *karāmāt*. See NIKITINE, *Essai*, 388. Cf. Ġāmlī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, text, p. 21 ff., the section entitled "al-Farq bain al-mu'ḡiza wa al-karāma".

² *Šafwat*, 35b-36b.

³ And gives in marriage his own daughter (by a previous marriage) to Šaiḥ Zāhid's son, Šams ad-Dīn. The author of the *Silsilat* is the distant descendant of this match. Cf. *Šafwat*, 17a ff. and 34a. On Šaiḥ Šafī in *Ḥabīb as-siyar* see IV, 413-20. The story of Šaiḥ Šafī and Šaiḥ Šadr in Šūstari, *Maḡālis*, 264, has nothing new to offer except perhaps the fact that there is no mention in it of the period of Ġunaid and Ḥaidar.

⁴ *Silsilat*, 38:

«مولانا شمس الدین برنیق که از ولایت اردبیل است گفت: از راه مراغه و تبریز شمار طالبان مشتاقان نمودم در سه ماه سیزده هزار

طالب به این یک راه بحضرة شیخ آمدند و شرف حضور مبارک در یافتند و توبه کردند. و از باقی اطراف برین قیاس . . .»

⁵ Rašīd ad-Dīn Faḡl Allāh, *Mukḥabāt-i Rašīdī*, letter No. 45 (pp. 265-272) addressed to Šaiḥ Šafī himself; and letter No. 49 (pp. 293-311) addressed to Rašīd ad-Dīn's son, Mīr Aḥmad, governor of Ardabīl. On these letters see also BROWNE, *LHP*, III, 80-87. In his salutations Rašīd ad-Dīn does not use any expressions that might indicate the 'Alid origin of the Šafawid family.

⁶ See the *firmān* issued by Sulṭān Aḥmad Ġalāyir, addressed to:

«حکام و نواب و متصرفان و بیتکچیان . . . اردبیل و توابع و نواحی آن . . .»

dated 22 Dū l-Qa'da 773/26 May 1372 when Sulṭān Aḥmad during the reign of his father Sulṭān Uwais held Ardabīl as a *soyūrḡāl* (he became Sulṭān in 784/1382-83). In it Aḥmad Ġalāyir states that:

«این حکم برلیغ نفاذ یافت تا همه انواع در ترفیه خاطر مبارک او (یعنی شیخ صدر الدین) و بریدان او کوشند و رعایت جانب ایشان من کل الوجوه واجب دانند».

The *firmān* was first published by H. Massé, "Ordonnance rendue par le prince Ilkanien Ahmad Jalair en faveur du Cheikh Sadr-Oddin (1305-1392)", *Journal Asiatique*, 230 (1938), 465-68; and subsequently by Muḥammad Qazwīnī, "Firmān-i Sulṭān Aḥmad Ġalāyir", *Yādīḡār*, I, No. 4 (1944), 25-29. The *firmān* refers to Šaiḥ Šadr ad-Dīn as:

«اعظم سلطان المشايخ والحقين قدوة السالكين ناصح الملوك والساطين مرشد الخلايق اجمعين»

i. e., no epithets such as *sayyid* are used to indicate the 'Alid origins of Šaiḥ Šadr or his ancestors. For partial facsimiles of the *firmān* see now Ġabāṅḡir QĀ'IMMAQĀMĪ, "Firmān-i mansūb bi-Sulṭān Aḥmad Ġalāyir", *Barrasīhā-yi tāriḡī* III/5 (1347), p. 273-80, and Šīrīn Bayānī, *Tāriḡ-i Āl-i Ġalāyir*, Tehran 1345, p. 221-27.

⁷ On Ḥwāḡa 'Alī and Tīmūr see below p. 54, note 4.

Šaiḥ Šadr ad-Dīn's tenure extended from the end of Mongol-Ilḥānīd power almost to the end of the fourteenth century and the arrival of Tīmūr on the Iranian scene. This period of the Order is marked by the "conversion" of perhaps its most illustrious member, Šāh Qāsim-i Anwār, and the stepping up of the Order's activity in 'Irāq-i 'Aḡam and Ḥurāsān¹.

The period of Šaiḥ Šadr ad-Dīn, like the disturbed times in which he lived, was marked by grave hardships to the Order. There were persecutions, and Šaiḥ Šadr even spent some time in prison². But for this same reason the followers of the Order increased and people found refuge in it from the unsettled times.

Gazā activity shows up again and the Georgians, we are told, carried away the door of the mosque of Ardabil. Šaiḥ Šadr and his followers recovered it and brought it back to the city³.

During Ḥwāḡa 'Alī's period (of roughly a quarter of a century), the affairs of the Order prospered to such a degree that the *šūfī* Šaiḥ could wield so much weight and influence as to ask the great Tīmūr to set free certain captives he had brought back with him from Anatolia after his victory over the Ottoman Sulṭān Bāyezīd at Ankara in 804/1402. The significant point here, though, is the fact that these captives were followers of the Order, and when set free they were sent back home to Anatolia, with representatives (*ḥulafā*) appointed to go with them, and were told, "Let your comings and goings be not infrequent, for the advent of the righteous Duodeciman (*iḥnā'asārī*) religion is nigh and you must be ready to sacrifice your lives"⁴. Ḥwāḡa 'Alī himself died in Palestine where he had been making converts in Mamlūk territory⁵.

¹ *Silsilat*, p. 41, and *Ḥabīb as-siyar*, the section on Šaiḥ Šadr ad-Dīn, IV, 420-23. On Qāsim-i Anwār see Sa'īd NAFĪSĪ, ed., *Kulliyāt-i Qāsim-i Anwār* (Tehran 1337/1959), where the editor in a 112-page introduction quotes from thirty-three authorities ranging from 'Abd ar-Razzāq Samarqandī through Ġāml, Daulat-šāh, Ḥwāndamīr, Ḥusain Baiqarā (*Maḡālis al-'uṣṣāq*), Sām Mirzā (*Taghira-yi Sāmī*), Rūmlū, Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī (*Haft Iqlīm*), Šūstārī (*Maḡālis*), Iskandar Munšī, Zāhīdī (*Silsilat*) . . . to Riḡā Qulīḡān Hidāyat (*Maḡma' al-fuṣṣahā*).

² *Silsilat*, 42-43. This was the period of Malik Akrāf Čūbānī, brother of Šaiḥ Ḥasan-i Kūčik (on whom see 'Abbās IQBĀL, *Tārīḥ*, 453-54). Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū/BAYĀNĪ, *Chronique des Rois Mongoles en Iran*, II, 153.

³ *Silsilat*, 43-44.

⁴ Minorsky, *T. M.*, 190 and n. 1 (quoted from "The Anonymous History of Šāh Ismā'īl", Cambridge MS., Add., 200, 10b. The first part of this chronicle was published by Denison Ross in *JRAS*, 1896, pp. 249-340). However, the author of the *Silsilat* does not mention the return of the captives to Anatolia, but says:

«اسیران روم را بدو (یعنی بمواجه علی) بخشید وحضرت شیخ ایشانرا آزاد نمود در قرب مزار متبرک گنجہ بکول از برای ایشان جای خانه تعیین نمود. والحال نسل ایشان در همان مکان توطن دارند ویصوفیان روملو مشهورند».

See *Silsilat*, 48. - On the relation between Tīmūr and Ḥwāḡa 'Alī see H. HORST, *Tīmūr und Ḥōḡā 'Alī: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Safawiden* (1958). The section on Ḥwāḡa 'Alī in the *Silsilat* (pp. 45-50) bears great similarity to the text of the *Šukūk*, published in photostat by HORST, which date from 805/1403. These *waqf-nāmas* are referred to by the author of the *Silsilat* (p. 48), and by Iskandar Munšī in *Tārīḥ-i 'Ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, I, 16. See also HORST, *op. cit.*, 43. - Naḡr Allāh FALSĀFĪ in *Zandigānī-yi Šāh 'Abbās-i Awwal*, I, 166, n. 2, throws doubt on the story of Tīmūr and Ḥwāḡa 'Alī. - E. J. W. GIBB in *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, II, 227-228, n. 4 refers to the freeing of the captives, but wrongly ascribes it to the period of "the Šūfī Sheikh Šadr-ud-Dīn".

⁵ The story of the death of Ḥwāḡa 'Alī in Jerusalem is best preserved in Muḡīr ad-Dīn al-'Ulaimī, *al-Uns al-ḡalīl bi-lārīḥ al-Quds wa al-Ḥallīl*, a biographical and historical work completed in 900-901/1494-95. The entry on Ḥwāḡa 'Alī which occurs in v. II, p. 510 of this work is worth quoting in full:

«الشیخ الصالح العابد علاء الدین ابو الحسن علی بن الشیخ العابد المسک صدر الدین بن الشیخ الصالح صنی الدین الاربدیل المعجی الزاهد الحجة شیخ الصوفیة وابن شیخهم. کان والده من اعیان الصالحین ببلده وله کرامات ظاهرة وكذلك کان ولده الشیخ هل المشار الیه و ذکر منه من الکرامات والمناقب ما یطول شرحه. قدم الی دمشق فی سنة ثلاثین وثمانمئة قاصد الحج ومعه خلق کثیر من اصحابه واتباعه وجاور بمکة ثم قدم الی بیت المقدس. ویقال انه شریف علوی توفی بالقدس الشریف فی اواخر جمادی الاول سنة اثنتین وثلاثین وثمانمئة من نحو ستین

As to his *ṣūfī* activities, the sources have preserved to us a *ḡihr* session during which Ḥwāḡa 'Alī performed some "miraculous" deeds¹. And in his dealings with the inhabitants of Dizfūl (whom he led back along "the correctly-guided path", *rāh-i hidāyat*)² and with the Yazīdīs in Syria (whom he had asked Tīmūr to punish)³, the first signs of inter-sectarian clashes appear, which culminated in the destruction of the independent character of the Muṣa'ṣa's early in Šāh Ismā'il's reign⁴.

سنة ودفن بباب الرحمة بلصق سور المسجد. وكان يوما مشهود الدفنة وبني أصحابه على قبره قبة كبيرة وهي مشهورة تقصد للزيارة. وهو شيخ الشيخ محمد بن الصائغ المشهور بخليفة الأردبيل الآتي ذكره مع فقهاء الحنفية.

In the Summer of 1967 I tried to locate the tomb of Ḥwāḡa 'Alī in Jerusalem near St. Stephen's Gate (Bāb ar-Rahma), but so far without success. 'Ulaimī further has this to say on Saib Muḥammad ibn aḡ-Šā'ig, Ḥwāḡa 'Alī's *ḡaliṣa* in Jerusalem (*ibid.*, II, 573):

«الشيخ شمس الدين محمد بن أحمد المشهور بابن الصائغ الصوفي الحق من أهل قلعة الروم. كان من أهل الدين والصلاح وعنده فضل وهو خير متواضع منجم عن الناس منور الشية عليه أبهة الصالحين. وكان يعرف بخليفة الأردبيل نسبة لشيخه الشيخ على الأردبيل المدفون بباب الرحمة. توفي في شهر سنة خمس وثمانين وثمانمائة ودفن بباب الرحمة».

Cf. 'Ulaimī's entry on Ḥwāḡa 'Alī with that in Saḡāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi*, VI, 29, which is much less informative. Perhaps in both cases the source is Ibn Ḥaḡar al-'Asqalānī's *Inbā' al-ḡumr bi-abnā' al-'umr*, a work being published just now (by Ḥabaṣī, so far vol. I, Cairo 1969) to which Saḡāwī refers. But 'Ulaimī who was born in Jerusalem and was *qāḍī* there in 891/1486 appears to be talking from first-hand knowledge. (On him see *GAL*, II, 53-54 and Suppl. II, 41-42).

For a translation (incomplete) of 'Ulaimī's *al-Uns al-ḡallī*, see Henry SAUVAIRE, *Histoire de Jerusalem et d'Hebron* . . . (Paris 1876). The section on Ḥwāḡa 'Alī is not in the parts translated.

The story in BROWNE, *LHP*, IV, 45-46, n. 3, and the references in it to BABINGER and to BROWNE's informant the Rev. Canon J. E. HANAUER, etc. can now be clarified in the light of the above. So too can the mutilated reference to 'Ulaymī in Sūṣṭarī, *Iḡāq al-ḡaqq*, II, 342, n. 1.

Ḥwāḡamīr, *Ḥabīb as-siyar*, IV, 423-24, does not report the death of Ḥwāḡa 'Alī in Jerusalem. In fact, Ḥwāḡamīr is completely uninformed on Ḥwāḡa 'Alī and his role. Iskandar Munṣī, however, reports it in *Tārīḡ-i 'ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, I, 16, and so does Zāhidi in *Silsilat*, p. 45, where he states:

«ملفن شریفش در قدس خلیل است ودر آنجا سید علی هم مشهور است».

¹ *Silsilat*, 48 and n. 6. The text appears to be slightly corrupt. However, see HORST *Tīmūr und Hōḡā 'Alī*, p. 5b of the photostatic text, where the missing word *dāst* is supplied. The author of the *Silsilat*, or more correctly his authority, claims that after Tīmūr saw this performance, «مرید رعتقد شد».

² *Silsilat*, 46.

³ *Ibid.*, 47. On the Yazīdīs see 'Abbās AL-'AZZĀWĪ, *Tārīḡ al-Yazīdīya* (Baghdād 1353/1935), who refers (p. 194) to the appearance of "ḡulāt Šūfī doctrines" among the Yazīdīs at some stage in their development, and argues against views submitted by Th. Menzel in "Yazīdī", *ET*, first edition.

⁴ W. HINZ accepts the "Šrī" role of Ḥwāḡa 'Alī; see his *Irans Aufstieg*, 23. MINORSKY believes that "the fact that the claim to an 'Alid descent on the part of Shaykh Šaṣī was registered already in the *Šafwat aṣ-ṣafā* is suggestive in itself"; see his review of HINZ's *Irans Aufstieg*, in *BSOAS*, IX (1937-39), 239-43. (But see KASRAWĪ's and TOGAN's views on the *Šafwat* earlier in this chapter, p. 47 ff.). BROWNE in *Note*, 407, n. 1, feels that the "conversion" of the inhabitants of Dizfūl "is perhaps the earliest sign of strong and decided Shī'a propagandism on the part of the Safawīs." See also H. ROEMER's views on Ḥwāḡa 'Alī in "Die Safawiden", *Saeculum*, IV (1953), pp. 28-29. The *Silsilat* has a fairly large collection of *ḡazals* (p. 50-62) written by Ḥwāḡa 'Alī. Some are *qif'as* or *rubā'īs*. The *taḡallūs* used is "'Alī", but that is only Ḥwāḡa 'Alī's name. The author of the *Silsilat* states (p. 50) that:

«دیوان اشعار او . . . در میان طالبان مشهور و معروفست».

The following *rubā'ī* is an example:

نالان و طپان تا که کی آید بیرون.	عشق تو مرا نکند در دجله خون
از چشمه چشم من روان شد جبین	بیچاره دلم نشت در خانه خاک

which may be translated as follows:

My love of you has cast me into a Tigris of blood.
The Oxus flows with the tears of my eyes.

My poor heart lies in the house of dust;
It moans and throbs till someone helps it out.

During the period of Šaiḥ Ibrāhīm (which covered the second quarter of the fifteenth century) nothing of any great significance happened, and the activity of the Ardabīl Order appears to have hit its lowest point. This corresponded to the era of Šāh Ruḥ of the Timūrīds in the East and of the early Qara-qoyunlus in Āḍarbaigān and Iraq – both centralizing and expansionist. The lull during Šaiḥ Ibrāhīm's time preceded the tempest which began with Ġunaid¹.

To sum up: we have seen that under the first four leaders of the Ardabīl Order (i. e. Šaiḥ Šafī, Šaiḥ Šadr, Ḥwāḡa 'Alī, and Šaiḥ Ibrāhīm) all indications are that the Order was an important center for the spread and dissemination of Šūfī doctrines in Āḍarbaigān, eastward into the Timūrīd domains, and westward into Anatolia. No palpable signs of Šī'ism at the high level of the *ifnā'ašarīs* or the folk level of the *ḡulāt* are perceptible during this period of the Order's life. And as MINORSKY puts it: "The lords of Ardabīl are highly respected *shaykhs* leading a contemplative life, spending their time in prayers and fasting, and credited with supernatural powers."²

The political disorders and confusion which followed the death of the last effective Ilḡhānīd Sulṭān Abū Sa'id appear to have been fertile ground for the spread of the Order. This confusion is best described by the contemporary Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umārī (d. 749/1349) in his *Masālik al-abṣār* where he talks of utter darkness, disunity, and corruption; of claimants to the throne supported by factions here and there. The picture is that of total disruption and complete disorder³.

It seemed natural that during this unsettled period Šūfī orders should flourish more than ever before. For in addition to giving the common man some kind of peace of mind at the level of popular folk-Islam, these centers of Šūfī *šaiḥs* often were a haven for persons running away from the tyrannical clasp of secular despots. One such case is recorded in the *Muḡmal* of Faṣīḥī of Ḥwāf⁴, and another by Ibn Ḥaldūn in his *Tārīḥ*⁵. And these need not be the only instances.

¹ *Silsilat*, 65–66. Zāhidī has here a fairly detailed list of Šaiḥ Ibrāhīm's children and grand-children. A son, Abū Sa'id, was *kitābdār* (librarian) of the Order, which may have included propaganda and public relations activity; and a grand-daughter, not named, who became *faqīrbāši* (BROWNE in "Note", p. 410–11, has *faqīra-bāši*), perhaps head of the female members of the Order.

Iskandar Munšī in *Tārīḥ-i 'ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, I, 17, talks of Šaiḥ Ibrāhīm's generosity and the wealth of his kitchen. MINORSKY refers to the possibility that Šaiḥ Ibrāhīm accompanied Ġahān-šāh in a *ḡarā* against Georgia. See his "Thomas of Metsop" and the Timūrīd-Turkmān Wars" in *Professor Muhammad Shafī' Presentation Volume* (Lahore, 1955), p. 169.

Abdulgaki GÖLPINARLI in *Yunus Emrî: Hayatı* (Istanbul 1936), pp. 137–39, quotes a line of poetry in which the words "Šah Efendi" and "Seyh-i Šah" occur, but dismisses the possibility they may refer to Šaiḥ Ibrāhīm.

² MINORSKY, *T. M.*, 189.

³ As quoted in Qalqaṣandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'sā*, vol. IV, 420–21:

«قال (العمرى) في مسالك الأبصار بعد ذكر أبي سيد: هم بعده في دماء مظلمة وعيما مقتمة لا يفضى إليها إلى صباح ولا فرقهم إلى اجتماع ولا نادم إلى صلاح. في كل ناحية هاتف يدعى باسمه ويخالف أخذ جانبا إلى قسه . . .»

For the original text of this extract (with minor variants) see now 'Umārī/LECH, p. 114 of the text. A similar view is given in his (al-'Umārī's) *al-Ta'rif bi-al-muṣṭafalaḥ aš-šarīf* (Cairo, 1312/1894) p. 43. And cf. Abū al-Fidā/Ibn al-Wardī, *Kitāb al-muḥtaṣar*, IV, 144:

«ثم دخلت سنة ست وأربعين وسبعمائة والتار مختلفون مقتلون من حين مات القان أبو سيد وبلاد الشرق والعجم في غلاء ونهب وجور بسبب الخلف من حين وفاته إلى هذه السنة.»

(From the year 732, when Abū al-Fidā died, till the end of the chronicle in the year 749, the work was continued by Ibn al-Wardī, on whom see 'Azzāwī, *al-Ta'rif*, 188–89).

⁴ Faṣīḥī, *Muḡmal*, I, 182: events under the year 810/1407 (or p. 191 where the same story is repeated under the events for the year 811/1408 – perhaps a printing error).

⁵ Ibn Ḥaldūn, *Tārīḥ*, V, 553. The lonely mention of Šaiḥ Šadr ad-Dīn of Ardabīl here is unfortunately followed by a lacuna in the printed text (Būlāq 1284/1867).

The sanctity of Ardabil and its environs made it almost a place of pilgrimage. Many Timūrid princes, on expeditions in the West to quell certain rebellious vassals, would pass through Ardabil and pay their respects to the chief of the Order residing there. One such visit is recorded by 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī in his *Maḡla' as-sa'dain* under the year 823/1420¹.

The growing number and importance of Šūfī orders during the troubled days of the post-Mongol period in Irān is coupled with activity of a similar nature – perhaps in this case limited to the larger centers of population – carried on by groups of *fityān* or *iḥwān* who set a high standard of conduct and behavior made necessary by the weakening central powers².

A very good description of this situation has been made by the late Persian scholar 'Abbās IQBĀL who in his *Tārīḡ-i muṣaṣṣal* tells us of the increased number of Šūfis in Āḡdarbaigān, Gilān and Māzandarān at the end of Sulṭān Abū Sa'id's reign. He also speaks of the *ahl-i futuwat* and the *ahl-i uḡuwat*, and adds that in all cases 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib was considered the *fatā* and *maulā* of every group of Šūfis or *aḡis*³.

Of special importance and significance in the latter part of IQBĀL's statement are the references he makes to the special position Ḥaẓrat-i 'Alī had in the general picture. This need not give the impression of organized belief in Šī'ism, or the *imāmate*, or the Twelve Imāms. For at the popular level of folk Islam such highly controversial questions never really came up, or in fact never could have been understood in their basic religio-theological connotations. 'Alī and the family of the Prophet were honored because of the traditional mystery that had revolved around them since the early days of Islam. In them were all the qualities, real or woven into the tradition by later generations, which a Muslim hoped to possess in a golden age that was nostalgically gone.

A conclusion, more or less similar to that of 'Abbās IQBĀL's, was reached by M. F. KÖPRÜLÜ in his work *Türk edebiyatında ilk mutasavvıflar*, where the great Turkish scholar discusses religious movements in Anatolia during the 7th–10th/13th–15th centuries. KÖPRÜLÜ says (in the words of his translator L. BOUVAT): "Du septième siècle de l'Hégire à la fin du dixième, les mouvements religieux les plus variés se produisent en Asie Mineure. Des ordres religieux: ceux des Babais, des Abdals, des Bektachis, des Houroufis, des Kalenders; des Kizil-Bach, des Haideris. Le Soufisme est en faveur, mais l'hétérodoxie recrute facilement des adeptes: des faux prophètes font leur apparition, et leurs succès montrent qu'ils trouvent un terrain favorable. Répandu dans toute l'Asie, le mysticisme gagne l'Europe, et s'étend jusqu'aux limites de la Bosnie. L'histoire ottomane alors est une période de guerres et d'atrocités, mais en même

¹ Samarqandī, *Maḡla' as-Sa'dain*, II, pt. 1, pp. 407–8. The visit was made by the Timūrid prince Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Sulṭān when Ḥwāḡa 'Alī was head of the order at Ardabil.

² In his review article of the 1329/1911 Bombay edition of *Ṣaḡwat as-ṣaḡā*, B. NIKITINE counted seventeen "akhīs" in the entourage of Ṣaḡḡ Ṣaḡḡ ad-Dīn, one of them had a professional name: Aḡī Sulṭān Ṣaḡḡ Haddād. See NIKITINE, "Essai", 393, and n. 14, and cf. in one case *Ṣaḡwat*, 331b.

³ 'Abbās IQBĀL, *Tārīḡ*, 466. IQBĀL's statement is comprehensive and deserves to be quoted in full:

«در اواخر دولت سلطان ابو سعید بهادرخان در آذربایجان و گیلان و مازندران عرفا و متصوفه و درویش رو باز پیدا گذاشتند بطوری که هر ناحیه‌ای مرادی گرد خود جماعتی مرید داشت. و چون سلطان ابو سعید اساساً مخالف آزاد رساندن باین طایفه بود کسی نیز متعرض ایشان نمیشد. و همین علت روز بروز عدد مرده شیوخ رو بافزایش میگذاشت. قسمت عمده این مریدان در جزء سلسله اهل فتوت یا اهل اخوت داخل بودند وفتیان و اخوان جماعتی از عوام متصوفه بودند که سعی داشتند اصول عالیه عرفان و تصوف را در میان عامه نیز جاری ساخته با تصفیه اخلاق و استحکام مبانی صفا و وداد بین خود از آن بهره بر دارند. و این جماعت که از عهد خلافت الناصر لدین الله بعلت گرویدن او باین طایفه در جمیع ممالک اسلامی تشکیلات و زوایا و خانقاه‌ها و مهمانخانه‌ها داشتند متفرق بودند. و حضرت امیر المؤمنین عل بن ابی طالب را مطلقاً قی و مول و حامی جمیت خود میشمردند. و از تمصب مذهبی و آزاد یکدیگر و قتل و غارت و دزدی نیز احتراز داشتند. بلکه مثل فرسان جاهلیت عرب و شوالیه‌های قرون وسطی در اروپا متحلل بیک سلسله اخلاق مردانه بودند.»

temps une période de fermentation religieuse ou, à côté de la force brutale, la force morale joue un rôle qui n'est pas négligeable."¹

However, in order to place this statement by KÖPRÜLÜ in its proper context, a few words are needed to describe the religious picture in Anatolia and follow briefly its development during the contemporary period of the Şūfī Order at Ardabil.

5. Folk-Islam in Anatolia

The growth and development of folk-Islām in Anatolia during the period which corresponds to the rise and consolidation of the Şūfī Order at Ardabil under Şaiḥ Şafī ad-Dīn and his immediate successors (i. e. till the mid-fifteenth century) appear to have followed a somewhat different path which, however, had more or less the same result.

The picture is far from clear. There is no definite pattern which can be compared to the success of the experiment which was going on in Āḍarbaigān, and which was attracting followers from far and wide – most of all from among the Turkish tribes of Anatolia itself. In fact, the religious situation in Anatolia during this period is utterly confused, and any attempt to find an organized pattern for it will be to give a wrong impression of the religious events themselves.

The explanation for this confused state is difficult to find. Perhaps it can all be blamed on the political situation at the time – which itself was quite disorderly. There was no real central authority in the whole of Anatolia at this time: the last years of the Rūm Selgūq state with its capital city of Qonya were marked by a weakening of whatever central power there was, the complete disintegration of the system, and the rise of numerous petty states (*beyliks*) across the length and breadth of the peninsula. This was followed by a semblance of Mongol control from the seat of the Mongol governor at Siwās established early in the fourteenth century. However, Anatolia was far away from the center of Mongol authority in Āḍarbaigān, and no effective control was exercised. Soon the rising star of the house of Osmān was bringing the neighboring Anatolian *beyliks* into the fold of what appeared to be a new empire; but no sooner was this more or less achieved than a mighty conqueror, Timūr, put an end to it at Ankara in 804/1402. And the painful experiment had to be done all over again after this temporary shake². Further, the role which the Mamlūk sultāns of Egypt played in Anatolia throughout this entire period – a role which at best can be described as divisive – added considerably to the confusion that prevailed. This role never really came to an end until Sultān Selīm conquered Syria and Egypt early in the sixteenth century.

It appears that such a confused political state of affairs was reflected in a similarly confused state of religious growth and development.

¹ M. F. KÖPRÜLÜ, *Türk edebiyatında ilk mütasavvıflar*, İstanbul, 1918. A detailed summary translation, used here, appeared in *Revue du Monde Musulman*, XLIII (1921), pp. 236–282, done by L. BOUVAT, entitled "Les premiers mystiques dans la littérature turque". Of special importance are the tables at the end of the article showing Şūfī affiliations, as well as the comprehensive bibliography on this subject, pp. 269–282. (For more information on KÖPRÜLÜ's work, i. e. reviews, translations, and summaries, see Şerif Hulusi SAYMAN, *O. Professor Dr. Fuad Köprülü'nün yapıtları için bir Bibliyografya*, 1913–1934, İstanbul 1935, p. 5. Cf. views on this subject by V. MINORSKY in "Bāli-Efendi", 438: "In the eighth/fourteenth century dervishism and Shī'ite influences were widely spread among the Anatolian Turkmāns. Characteristic are the great revolts in western Anatolia which broke out in the beginning of the fifteenth century"; and H. J. KISSLING, "The Social and Educational Role of the Dervish Orders in the Ottoman Empire" in *Studies in Islamic Cultural History*, The American Anthropological Association, vol. 56, no. 2, Memoir No. 76 (April 1954), p. 24.

² On this period in Turkish history see the two well-known monographs by M. F. KÖPRÜLÜ, *Les origines de l'Empire Ottomane* (Paris 1935), and P. WITTEK, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (London 1938).

In Irān, on the other hand, at least in Ādarbaigān and along the Baġdād-Tabriz axis, a tradition of centralized authority continued to exist throughout the Mongol conquest, the Mongol İlḥānid period, and the post-Mongol Ćübānid, Ćalāyir, Qara-qoyunlu, and Aq-qoyunlu system (with perhaps a short break during the Tīmūr cataclysm of roughly a quarter of a century from 1381-1405). This relatively stable tradition, which in a way is itself a continuation of the pre-Mongol 'Abbāsīd rule in this general area, lent itself to the peaceful growth and development of such a Şūfī order as that founded in Ardabīl. This is not to say that order and stability were everywhere supreme.

More important than the political unrest, and no doubt contributing to it in large measure, is the fact that Anatolia from the Selġūq through the Mongol periods, and perhaps even afterwards, was the recipient of large groups of Turco-Mongolian tribes who were pushed westwards in the face of the conquerors from the east¹. These groups, nomadic and disorganized, had no underlying unified structure. Many were attracted further westward and became the *ġāzīs* of the growing state of Osmān. Others settled wherever they could in the valleys of the Anatolian plateau. It was among these unruly groups that folk Islamic ideas flourished, as opposed to the more sedate religious practices in the urban centers of Anatolia.

But neither the political unrest nor the tribal and nomadic structure of a large section of society is sufficient to explain the confusion at the religious level which obtained in Anatolia during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The original question will have to remain unanswered and will have to await a more thorough investigation of the entire religious picture at the time.

The most convenient point of departure for such an examination is the period of Maulānā Ćalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī (born at Balḥ in 604/1207, and died at Qonya in 672/1273), who was a near contemporary of some of the leading religious figures which were dealt with in an earlier chapter of this work, namely Tūsī and Ibn al-Muṭahhar, Ibn Taimiya and Baiḍāwī². In fact, Rūmī's *Maṭnawī*, one of the best compendiums of Muslim Şūfī thought, should perhaps best be placed within the general context of Islam during the post-Caliphate period; and indeed, the picture of "high Islam" as drawn in an earlier section of this work remains incomplete unless Rūmī and his work and times are brought in to show another aspect of that picture. For Rūmī's *şūfism*, as well as – despite the name, – his Mevlevi *şūfī* order are in essence another manifestation of high Islam, this time not in the traditional centers of Baġdād, Damascus, and Tabriz, but in their equivalent, the great Rūm Selġūq capital at Qonya. The appeal here again is not so much to the common man but rather to the more cultured and sophisticated inhabitants of the Anatolian cities.

It is difficult to place Rūmī in the religious context of Islam in Anatolia: he is recognized as an orthodox *Sunnī*, and it is hard to find in his work material which may implicate him with any specific *Şī'ī* groups³. It is believed, however, that his mysterious relations with that enigmatic character, Šams-i Tabrizī, may point to certain involvements with suspicious *Şī'ī* elements rampant at the time.

¹ No figures are available unless a general statement such as the following (by Z. V. TOĞAN, "Rise of the Turkish Empire" in *Background of the Middle East*, ed. E. JACKH, 1952, pp. 112-3) can be trusted: "During the era of the İl-Khāns (1256-1336) . . . more than two million Eastern Turks and a number of Mongols came in the wake of Hulagu . . ." On the movement of population (both Turkish and Mongol) as a result of the Mongol invasions, see KÖPRÜLÜ, "Influence du Chamanisme Turc-Mongol . . .", pp. 13-14, n. 24, and the authorities quoted therein. BABINGER talks of "a large body of people (10,000-12,000)" led by Sarī Saltuk into Dobrudja, the move being "perhaps connected with the advance of Hulagu." See his article "Şarī Saltuk Dede" in *EI*, first edition.

² See above, p. 23 ff.

³ The following from *Kulliyat-i Šams-i Tabrizī* (edited by Badī' al-Zamān FURŪZANFAR and 'Alī DAŠTĪ,

Rūmī appears to have fallen under the spell of Šams for some time, and is said to have received esoteric teaching by him. Described as a "weird figure, wrapped in coarse black felt, who flits across the stage for a moment and disappears tragically enough"¹. Šams-i Tabrizī is said to have been the son of Ġalāl ad-Dīn "Nau-Musalmān", the Ismā'īlī grand master of Alamūt (607-617/1210-1220)². According to R. A. NICHOLSON, the "tremendous spiritual enthusiasm (of Šams-i Tabrizī), based on the conviction that he was a chosen organ and mouthpiece of the Deity, cast a spell over all who entered the enchanted circle of his power."³ The intimacy between Rūmī and Šams-i Tabrizī ended abruptly in 644/1246, when Šams was killed in a riot at Qonya⁴.

The exact relation between the *šūfism* of Rūmī and the Ismā'īlī *da'wa* originating at Alamūt cannot be resolved here. The late professor E. G. BROWNE, in a letter to E. Denison Ross says that "The question of Šūfism and Ismā'īlī doctrine is interesting, and there is a curious connection through Šams-i Tabrizī"; but he hastens to add that "it must be borne in mind that ostensibly all the great Šūfī poets of the older time, like 'Aṭṭār and Jalāl al-Dīn, are Sunnis"⁵.

Aside from Rūmī, and more in the context of folk Islam in Anatolia, were such well-known figures as Bābā Ishāq, Sarī Saltuq and Baraq Bābā, Yunus Emre and Hāggī Bektāš, Hāggī Bayram Walī, Qāḍī Badr ad-Dīn of Samāwnā, and Āq Šams ad-Dīn, who represented a tradition that can be traced in one way or another to the Central Asian Hwāḡa Aḥmad Yasawī (d. 562/1166-67). This tradition, which can be followed from the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries, led to such religious and social convulsions as those of the Bābā'ī revolt around the mid-thirteenth century and Qāḍī Badr ad-Dīn's movement at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century. It is a tradition at the grass roots which was the expression of discontent and restlessness among the rural masses against the Sunni aristocracy of the Rūm Selḡūq state and later against the Ottoman ruling and religious institutions, and which may be said to have found its culmination in the šī'ī revolt and terrible massacres during the early years of Sulṭān Selīm.

Tehran, 1336/1958), vol. I. pp. 373-74, *ḡazal* No. 882, shows excessive *šūfī* views of Ḥaẓrat-i 'Alī:

تا نقش زمین بود و زمان بود علی بود	تا صورت و پیوند جهان بود علی بود
از روی یقین بر همه موجود علی بود . . .	چندانکه نظر کردم و دیدم بحقیقت
تا هست علی باشد و تا بود علی بود	این کفر نباشد سخن کفر نه اینست
شمس الحق تبریز که بنمود علی بود.	سر دو جهان جلّه زبّهان وزیدا

¹ R. A. NICHOLSON, *Selected Odes from the Divan-i Shams-i Tabriz*, Introduction, p. xviii.

² Ġalāl ad-Dīn "Nau Musalmān" had renounced his Ismā'īlī views, declared for Orthodoxy, and paid allegiance to the 'Abbāsīd caliph an-Nāsir. See BROWNE, *LHP*, II, 457-458, and cf. the Introduction to *Kulliyāt-i Šams-i Tabrizī*, 41 ff.

³ NICHOLSON, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xx. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa refers to Šams as "a man selling sweetmeats" who came into Rūmī's college and attracted his attention. Rūmī followed him and came back "after many years, but he had become demented and would speak only in Persian rhymed couplets which no one could understand . . . the *Mathnawī*". See Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Rihla*, 294/GIBB's transl., II, 430-31. On Rūmī see also H. RITTER, "Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī", in *EI*, new edition, and the section on Rūmī's thought by A. BAUSANI in the same article.

⁴ But KÖPRÜLÜ asks, "Mais Chems-e Tabrizi a-t-il réellement existé?" See KÖPRÜLÜ/BOUVAT, *Türk edebiyatında ilk mulasavvıflar*, p. 256.

⁵ Letter dated 27 September 1891; excerpts in E. Denison Ross' autobiography *Both Ends of the Candle*, London 1943, p. 60. Hwānsārī, the author of *Rauḍat al-ḡannāt*, in his biography of Rūmī (p. 707 ff.) states: "وقد أطرا في مدحه صاحب مجالس المؤمنين (أي القاضي نور الله شوشتری) وجعله من خلص الشيعة وأيد ذلك بكونه من أولاد جلال الدين الداعي للدولة العلوية الاسماعيلية".

A few lines later, Hwānsārī blasts the Ismā'īlīs!

The story of the first mystics in Turkish literature has been told by M. F. KÖPRÜLÜ in a long monograph referred to above (p. 57) which appeared back in 1918. The learned Turkish scholar traces the relations between Aḥmad Yasawī and his Anatolian successor Yūnus Emre early in the fourteenth century. According to KÖPRÜLÜ, Aḥmad Yasawī steered a clear course away from religious controversies¹, but his disciples in Anatolia favored *bāfīnī* doctrines².

At about this time (ca. 638/1240) the Bābā'ī revolt of Bābā Rasūl-Allāh Ishāq among the Turkish elements in Anatolia, with extreme forms of *Šī'ism*, occurred and was directed against the Sunnī aristocracy of the Rūm Selḡūq state in the Taurus region and Amāsyā, and was suppressed with the assistance of Frankish mercenaries³. This movement, oddly enough, was actively opposed by the aristocratic followers of Ḡalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī and his Mevlevi dervishes⁴. "La revolte des Babais", concludes KÖPRÜLÜ, "était d'autant plus grave, qu'elle se proposait, non seulement la conquête du pouvoir, mais encore la substitution, aux croyances reçues, d'une religion nouvelle."⁵

KÖPRÜLÜ further refutes the tradition that Hāḡḡī Bektāš was a disciple of Yūnus Emre⁶. Emre's master was a mystic of the Bābā'īs, and the Bektāšīs recognized him as one of their spiritual leaders during the ninth/fifteenth century. Emre was above all a moralist poet who respected the *Šarī'a* and the *Sunna*⁷ as seen in his *gazals* and religious poems (the *ilāhī* hymns)⁸. His possible collusion with the Ḥurūfīs is dismissed by KÖPRÜLÜ⁹.

¹ KÖPRÜLÜ/BOUVAT, *op. cit.*, 250. See also F. İZ, "Aḥmad Yasawī", *EI*, new edition. On *Šī'i* activity in Central Asia see E. BLOCHET, "La conquête des états nestoriens de l'Asie Centrale par les Schiites: les influences Chrétiennes et Bouddhiques dans le dogme Islamique", Paris, 1926, (Extrait de la *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, 3e série, t. XXV, Nos. 1 et 2, 1925-1926, pp. 3-131), pp. 13-14, 16-19, and 43-44.

² KÖPRÜLÜ/BOUVAT, *op. cit.*, 254. Cf. the following statement in *Kilāb an-naqḍ* (composed ca. 560/1164) by 'Abd al-Ḡalīl ibn 'Abī al-Faḍl al-Qazwīnī ar-Rāzī, pp. 53-54:

«هیچ سرائی نیست از ترکان که در او ده پانزده رافضی نیستند و در دیوانها هم دبیران ایشانند».

This statement is contemporary with the death of Ḥwāḡa Aḥmad Yasawī. At the level of Šūfism, the following supporting statement by H. A. R. GIBB in a recent article is worth quoting: "Their (Šūfīs') success among the Turks was particularly important since, when the Turks began their immigrations into western Asia and Anatolia in the eleventh century and founded the Turkish states and dynasties, it was to the Šūfī *shaiḡhs* rather than the Orthodox 'Ulama' that they looked as their religious teachers and guides. Turkish popular Islam was thus from the first intimately associated with the Šūfīs and their organizations", see his "The Heritage of Islam in the Modern World II", in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (July 1970), 224-5.

³ KÖPRÜLÜ/BOUVAT, *op. cit.*, 254-55; and C. L. CAHEN, "Bābā'ī", *EI*, new edition.

⁴ Cf. CAHEN, "Bābā'ī", *EI*, new edition, who adds that Bābā Ishāq had "allied himself to the extremist forms of Shī'ism which were prevalent in Irano-Turkish popular circles." J. R. WALSH says the Mevlevī order in the 14th and 15th centuries enjoyed the protection of the authorities, "and was used by them to combat the anarchical tendencies of the rural orders, the Bektāshīs, the Bābā'īs and the Alevīs". See his article "Yūnus Emre: a 14th century Turkish hymnodist", in *Numen*, VII (1960), 177. V. A. GORDLEVSKY in his *The Empire of the Salcuḡids of Asia Minor* gives a modern Russian interpretation. In the words of his reviewer he says that "intending social reforms the revolt (of Bābā Ishāq) took the form of a struggle of the oppressed peasant classes against the feudal groups." See the review article of GORDLEVSKY's work by I. M. SAYAR in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, X (1951), 274.

⁵ KÖPRÜLÜ/BOUVAT, *op. cit.*, 255.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 258.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 261.

⁸ *Ibid.* J. R. WALSH adds in "Yūnus Emre . . .", pp. 183-4, that "In his *divān* we also have charming nativity hymns on the birth of the Prophet, and the Mother Goddess theme is represented by the praises of the Prophet's daughter Fāṭima, the martyrdom of Ḥusayn . . ."

⁹ KÖPRÜLÜ/BOUVAT, *op. cit.*, 263. KÖPRÜLÜ argues against the views of Rizā Tevfīk who believed such a relation did exist. See his "Étude sur la religion des Houroufis" in *Textes persan relatifs à la secte des Houroufis*, G. M. S., IX (1909), pp. 221-313.

Barağ Bābā, disciple of Sarī Saltuq (who in turn was a disciple of Hāğgī Bektāš), exercised great influence at the İlhanid court of the Sultāns Gāzān and Ulğaitū. Both Barağ and Saltuq are two very important figures in the religious history of Anatolia (and even of Rumeli) during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries¹. Barağ Bābā's feats before the Mongol Sultān Gāzān, unbelievable though they may seem, did not go unnoticed by the Mamlūk writers and biographers². Ibn Hağar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852/1448), for example, tells us at the end of his biography of Barağ that he was sent with the Mongol army against Gilān where he was imprisoned and boiled to death in a large kettle³.

The Bektāšī order, on the other hand, was perhaps more a descendant of the teachings of Bābā Ishāq and the Bābā'is than of Yūnus Emre. In any case, heretical tendencies (both Muslim and Christian) were rampant in the Order, which came into great prominence during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. R. TSCHUDI, in a recent article, sums up this aspect of Bektāšism as follows: "In their secret doctrines, (the Bektāšis) are Shi'is, acknowledging the Twelve Imāms and, in particular, holding Dja'far al-Šādiq in high esteem. The center of their worship is 'Alī; they unite 'Alī with Allāh and Muḥammad into a trinity."⁴

Finally, the story of the turbulent life and ideas of Šaiḥ Badr ad-Dīn ibn Qāḍī Samāwnā is perhaps the highest point of the social unrest in Anatolia during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Badr ad-Dīn, following a traditional Muslim career which took him from Edirne to Bursa, Qonya, Jerusalem, Cairo, Mecca and Tabriz (in 805/1402-3 - "possibly attracted by the fame of the Šafawīyya in Ardabil"⁵ - where he narrowly escaped being drafted by Tīmūr who was on his way back from Anatolia), "gradually developed into an open heretic: he propagated the idea of common ownership . . . (and) became connected (in ways which are not yet clear) with the communist underground movement of a certain Bürklüdje Mustafa, and a certain Torlak Hu Kemal, which led to the extensive rebellion in 1416, as whose ideological head Badr al-Din appears."⁶ The movement was very cruelly suppressed, and many of Badr ad-Din's followers found refuge in other movements such as the Şüfî Order at Ardabil and the Bektāšis⁷.

¹ KÖPRÜLÜ, "Influence du Chamanisme . . .", 14-19; P. WITTEK, "Yazıcioglu 'Alī on the Christian Turks of the Dobruja", *BSOAS* XIV (1952), 658-659; Fr. Babinger, "Sarī Saltık Dede", *EI*, 1st edition; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in his *Rihla*, 345/GIBB's transl., II, 499-500, says, "They relate that this Saltuq was an ecstatic devotee, although things are told of him which are reproved by the Divine Law."

² B. LEWIS, "Barak Bābā" (bibliography), *EI*, new edition.

³ Ibn Hağar al-'Asqalānī, *ad-Durar al-kāmina*, I, 473-474, biography No. 1277. According to Faṣṭhī, *Muğmal*, III, p. 15 (events of the year 706/1306-7), Ulğaitū made preparations for the conquest of Gilān and that in the next year (III, 16) Barāq died in Gilān, was carried back to Sultānīya and buried there.

⁴ R. TSCHUDI, "Bektāshiyya", *EI*, new edition. See also J. K. BIRGE, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes* (London and Hartford 1937), 50-51, and p. 67, n. 2, where he says that "according to Bektashi tradition both (Sultān) Selim and (Šāh) Ismail were initiated members of the order"; and M. F. KÖPRÜLÜ, *Les origines du Bektachisme* (Essai sur le développement historique de l'hétérodoxie musulmane en Asie Mineure), ext. des *Actes du Congrès internationale d'Histoire des Religions* tenu à Paris en 1923.

⁵ Aḥmad Taḥkōprū-zāde (901-969/1495-1561) in his *aṣ-Šağā'iq an-Nu'māniya* (on the margin of Ibn Ḥalikān's *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Būlāq, 1300/1882), vol. I, p. 83, states:

«وقد انتسب إليه في زماننا هذا بعض من الملاحدة نسبة كاذبة وهو برى منهم بلا شك.»

⁶ H. J. KISSLING, "Badr al-Dīn b. Kāḍī Samāwnā", *EI*, new edition, and Fr. BABINGER, "Scheich Bedr ed-Din, der Sohn der Richters von Simaw", *Der Islam*, XI (1921), 78 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.* (KISSLING), and cf. VON HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman* (transl. J. J. HELLEERT), II, 181: "Cette insurrection, l'une des plus dangereuses qui aient été tentées dans l'empire ottoman, est aussi l'une des plus extraordinaires en ce que les complices cachèrent leurs perfides desseins sous le masque du fanatisme religieux, et en préparèrent l'exécution avec une patience et une habileté suprenantes."

⁸ The traditional account on Badr ad-Dīn has been narrated by VON HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *op. cit.*, II, 156 ff. But for an up to date bibliography see KISSLING's article in *EI*, new edition, and M. Şerefeddin

This, it should be remembered, coincided with the period that followed the defeat at Ankara, during which time the political situation in Anatolia and throughout the Ottoman possessions was perhaps at its most confused and disorderly stage. It was the period of the civil war between Bāyezid I's sons and the final reconquest of Anatolia under Mehmed II.

To sum up: the state of Islam in Anatolia during the formative years of the Ottoman empire is perhaps the thorniest knot to unravel in medieval Ottoman history. From Ġalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī at the court of the later Rūm Selġūqs all the way to the period of Sulţān Selīm I at the height of Ottoman power, the religious conditions in Anatolia appear to have been governed by three basic factors which, although difficult to assess factually, are still quite readily discernible. These factors tend to complicate the details, but the general picture that emerges at the end is quite clear. These factors are: (a) the position of orthodox *Sunnī* Islam both in the urban centers and among the Ottoman *ġāzīs* along the western marches; (b) the tremendous influence of the *Şūfī* orders and mystic leaders with their undefined egalitarian ideas among the unsettled Turkish tribes in the rural areas; and (c) the gradual emergence through a process of gradual growth and infiltration of *Şī'ī* ideas in one form or another. All this was taking place against a background of the indigenous Christianized population of Anatolia and the influx of large Turko-Mongolian elements from the East.

These factors cannot, and in fact need not, be considered separately, since none of them was actually operative independently at any given period. They appear to have been intermingled, and their effects were cross-sectional. The outcome, however, appears quite clear: that progressively *Şī'ism* in its popular forms was growing in the peninsula. This growth received strong impetus from the *Şī'ī* propaganda of the later leaders of the *Şūfī* Order at Ardabīl. This propaganda began first as a *Şūfī* conversion and grew in the second half of the fifteenth century under the later Şafawids, Ġunaid and Haidar, into a *Şī'ī-Qizilbaş* movement that swept most of eastern Anatolia, which by the end of the century was predominantly a *Şī'ī* country¹.

6. *Şī'ism and the post-Mongol Dynasties*

For a short period during the first decade of the fourteenth century, *inşā'aşari* *Şī'ism* was declared the official religion of the İlġānid state. That occurred in the reign of Ulġaitū Ĥudābanda; and the *inşā'aşari* scholar who played a signal role in the turn of events at that time was Ibn al-Muţahhar al-Ĥillī². However, the İlġānid government establishment reverted to Sunnism soon after Ulġaitū died, and Muslim orthodoxy appears to have resumed the traditional position it had enjoyed during the pre-Mongol caliphal period.

Under the post-İlġānid successor states, the exact relation between *inşā'aşarism* and the ruling dynasties is nowhere clear. *Şī'ī* writers assert that many of these dynasties, particularly the Ćübānids, Ġalāyirs, Sarbadārs, and Qara-qoyunlus, professed *imāmī* views³. To these one can add the lesser known Artuqid dynasty in Mardīn and its environs⁴.

YALTKAYA, "Bedreddin" in *İA*, and I. H. UZUNÇARŞILI, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, I. Cild, 2. baskı, (Ankara 1961) p. 360 ff.: "Samavna kadısıoġlu Şeyh Bedreddin vak'ası."

¹ N. JORGA, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, vol. II (Gotha 1909), p. 327, n. 1.: "Über die Ausbreitung des Schiismus in neuer fanatischer Form siehe einen venezianischen Bericht vom 8. April 1514: 'Se puol dir i quatro quinti de tuta la Natolia.'" (See references to this statement in BABINGER, "Schejch Bedr ed-Din . . .", p. 91, and MINORSKY, "Bāil-Efendi . . .", p. 438, n. 4).

² See above, Chapter III, p. 27 ff.

³ Muġsin AL-AMİN, *A'yān as-Şī'a*, VII, 270-72 (biography No. 1120).

⁴ On the Artuqids see C. L. CAHEN, "Artuqids", *EI*, new edition, and LANE-POOLE, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, 166-69. The Mardīn branch of this dynasty submitted to Tīmūr and was subsequently absorbed

It is certain, however, that *īnā'asārī* scholars, following in the steps of Ibn al-Muṭahhar, persisted in their attempts to "convert" the ruling dynasts and win them over to "high Šī'ism". One such attempt was made by the leading *imāmi* scholar of his time, Aḥmad ibn Fahd al-Ḥillī (d. 841/1437), who entered into a religious contest at Baḡdād with Sunni scholars at the court of Ispand, son of Qara-Yūsuf (and brother of Ġahān-Šāh Qara-qoyunlu), governor of Iraq from 836/1433 to 848/1445, and won over them, whereby the governor adopted *īnā'asā-rism* as the provincial state religion¹.

It is not clear how long this "conversion" lasted – perhaps throughout the ten or twelve years when Ispand was governor in Baḡdād, perhaps even much less than that. It appears though that this was in essence a personal matter which involved individual rulers or specific members of the dynasties in power. Often the adoption of the new faith was not accompanied by a formal announcement, nor was the new religion imposed on the subjects of the ruler concerned. In some cases, it is a matter of inference, such as, for example, the fact that Ḥasan-i Buzurg (the founder of the Ġalāyirs, d. 757/1356) chose Naḡaf as his last resting place – a possible indication that he was himself an *īnā'asārī*². His opponent, Amīr Ġubān, the leading Mongol figure during the sultanate of the last Ilhānid Abū Sa'id, was carried for burial all the way to Medina in the proximity of the Prophet's tomb³. Several junior members of the Ġalāyir family also showed an affinity to Šī'ism in some form or another⁴. But a seal of Sulṭān Aḥmad, the chief representative of this dynasty, shows no particular deviations from Sunni orthodoxy⁵. It must be said in passing that many rulers and royal princes of these dynasties led most unexemplary lives, paying the least attention to Islamic religious duties – a matter which caused later chroniclers to ascribe all kinds of heretical tendencies to them. These reports, however, cannot be fully trusted⁶.

As for Timūr, his religious views are difficult to define. There is no doubt that he was opportunistic when it came to religious controversies⁷. Including him among *a'yān aš-šī'a* is vacuous⁸, and the most balanced evaluation of him in this respect is by someone who knew

by the Qara-qoyunlus in 811/1408. The court poet of the dynasty, Šaḡī ad-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 749/1348) – perhaps the last of the famous Arab poets of the classical period – was an *īnā'asārī* Šī'i. See the remarks on him by al-Firūzābādī, the author of *al-Qāmūs*, and others in the introduction to al-Ḥillī's *al-Kitāb al-'Ajl al-ḥālī wal-murāḥḥaš al-ḡālī* (*Die vulgärrarabische Poetik . . . des Safiyaddin Hilli*, ed. W. HOENERBACH, Wiesbaden 1956). Firūzābādī says that al-Ḥillī "was a pure Šī'i". Cf. Ḥwānsārī, *Rauḍāt al-ḡannāt*, on Šaḡī ad-Dīn al-Ḥillī, known as Ibn as-Sarāyā, p. 422–423.

¹ Šūstārī, *Maḡālīs*, 241; Ḥwānsārī, *Rauḍāt*, 20–21; *Nāma-yi Dānišwarān-i Nāšīrī*, I, 374–75; and others.

² al-Aḥrī (or Aḥarī), Abū Bakr, *Tārīḫ-i Saiḫ Uvays*, ed. J. B. VAN LOON, The Hague 1954, Introduction, p. 11. The editor also notes 'Alid tendencies in the choice of names by members of the Ġalāyir dynasty, such as 'Alī, Ḥasan, and Ḥusain. See also Muḥsin AL-AMIN, *A'yān aš-Šī'a*, VII, 270–71, and XIII, 80.

³ Faṣṣḫī, *Muḡmal*, III, 37–39 (events of the year 728/1327–28); BROWNE, *LHP*, III, 51–56; and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, 227 ff./GIBB's transl., II, 335 ff.

⁴ Ibn Ḥaḡar, *ad-Durar*, I, 126, and II, 14; Ibn Taḡrībīrdī, *al-Manḥal aš-Šaḡī*, I, 232–40; as-Saḡāwī, *ad-Dāw' al-lāmi*, I, 244–45; AL-AMIN, *A'yān aš-Šī'a*, XIV, 227–228.

⁵ Muḥammad QAZWĪNĪ, *Yādīḡār*, I (1944), No. 4: 26, 28; and H. MASSÉ, *JA* (1938), 465–68. The seal as reproduced in Qazwīnī carried the names of the Four Caliphs in the corners and the circular inscription on it reads in part:

لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له . . . لا اله الا الله محمد عبده ورسوله

⁶ For short biographies on the post-Ilhānid rulers see Gaḡfārī, *Ġahānārā*, 215–17 on the Ġalāyirs, 217–219 on the Ġubānids, and 247–51 on the Qara-qoyunlus. (The section on the Qara-qoyunlus has been translated into English by MINORSKY, "Jihān-Shāh . . .", 292–297. For more recent articles see R. M. SAVORY, "Ġubānids", and J. M. SMITH, Jr., "Djalāyir, Djalāyirid", in *EI*, new edition.

⁷ BARTHOLD/MINORSKY, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, I, 59.

⁸ Muḥsin AL-AMIN in *A'yān aš-Šī'a*, XIV, 236–305, biography No. 2782, devotes 70 odd pages to Timūr but says next to nothing about Timūr's Šī'ism or lack of it!

him. Ibn Ḥaldūn, who had a most memorable meeting with Timūr in Damascus in 803/1400, says: "This king Timūr is a leader among kings and pharaohs. Some believe he was a learned man; while others think he was a *rāfiḍī* since they see that he prefers the members of the Prophet's family. Still others feel he believed in magic. (The truth of the matter is that) he is none of these. He is extremely intelligent and clever; and he is a great seeker after the things he knew and the things he did not know."¹ And while Timūr's successors in Māwarā'annahr were great champions of Sunni orthodoxy, his other "successors" in Iraq and Āḍarbaigān, the Qara-qoyunlu dynasty, showed more affinity to Šī'ism, perhaps even to a much greater degree than the Ġalāyirs who were their "predecessors" in this area. For while the Ġalāyirs may have shown a definite likeness to the cause of *ḫnā'ašari* Šī'ism, the Qara-qoyunlu leaders appear to have gone a step further and landed in the region of extreme heterodoxy.

Pīr Budāq, son of Ġahān-Šāh, for example, is described in the sources as having been a *šī'i* of dissolute religious character², while another son, Ḥasan-'Alī, who rebelled against his father and took refuge with Uzūn Ḥasan of the Aq-qoyunlus, is said to have been driven away from the Aq-qoyunlu court "on account of certain heretical opinions ascribed to him."³ Later Armenian sources describe this Ḥasan-'Alī as a cynical and evil man, a thief and a brigand who pillaged the region near Mt. Ararat⁴.

Ġahān-Šāh himself, the strongest and ablest representative of the Qara-qoyunlu dynasty, was not spared in this respect. The contemporary al-Ġiyāṭī in his *Tārīḥ* describes him in most unglowing terms⁵, while Saḥāwī in *ad-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, after acknowledging his greatness as a monarch, states that "like his relatives and brothers, (Ġahān-Šāh) was not tied down to any religious creed."⁶ Faḍl Allāh ibn Rūzbihān Ḥunḡī while praising his patrons the Aq-qoyunlu, damns their predecessors: "They never succumbed to wrong deeds, as did many of the Qara-qoyunlu who, through bad dispositions and association with heretics, reached the brink of Hell."⁷

More significant than all this is the substantive study made by V. MINORSKY of Ġahān-Šāh and his poetry⁸. MINORSKY places Ġahān-Šāh and the Qara-qoyunlus within the context of

¹ Ibn Ḥaldūn, *at-Ta'rif* . . . , ed. Muḥammad ibn Tawfī Aṭ-ṬANĠI, Cairo, 1951, p. 382. Cf. W. J. FISCHER, *Ibn Khaldūn and Tamerlane*, (Un. of California 1952), p. 47. On Timūr's discussions of religious topics (including Šī'ism) see Nizām ad-Dīn Šāmi, *Zafarnāma* (ed. F. TAUBER), I, 277; and the long description by Muḥammad ibn al-Šihna, *Rauḍat al-manāẓir* (published on the margins of vol. 11 and 12 of Ibn al-Aṭfīr, *al-Kāmil*, Cairo 1303/1885), vol. 12, p. 190 ff.

² Saḥāwī, *ad-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, vol. III, p. 2. Muḥsin AL-AMIN, *A'yān*, XIV, 166, states on the authority of Šūstarī's *Maḡālis* that Pīr Budāq wore a ring with *šī'i* poetry inscribed on it – an indication of his being himself a *šī'i*.

³ BROWNE, *LHP*, III, 408.

⁴ M. BROSSET (transl.), *Collection d'Historiens Arméniens*, vol. II (St. Pétersbourg 1876), "Mémoires historiques sur les Sofis", p. 4.

⁵ al-Ġiyāṭī, *Tārīḥ*, pp. 260, 261, and 263:

«كان جهانشاه يستعمل الأفيون، ذو خيالات فاسدة عديم العقل والتدبير فاسد التفكير . . . ما كان في قلبه خردل خوف من الله تعالى . . . لم يذكر الله تعالى بشفة ولا لسان ولم يسجد لله يوما إلى (sic/لا) في خلوة ولا في عيان. ويا ليت كان على هذا الحال من غير ظلم وفجور فإن الله رحيم غفور . . . لكن ظلمه وفكره الفاسد أخرب البلاد وأباد العباد».

⁶ Saḥāwī, *ad-Ḍaw'*, III, 80. BROWNE, *LHP*, III, 403, quoting from Munagḡimbāšī, *Šaḥā'if al-aḥbār*, says, Ġahān-Šāh was "a dissolute, immoral, blood-thirsty tyrant, a malignant inclined to heresy and atheism, who paid no heed to the sacred law, passed his nights until dawn in revelry and vice, and slept like a dog during the day . . ." Armenian sources speak of his respect to Christians; see BROSSET, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁷ Ḥunḡī/MINORSKY, *Tārīḥ-i 'ālam-ārā-yi Amīnī*, 21.

⁸ MINORSKY, "Jihān-Shāh Qara-qoyunlu and his Poetry", (*Turkmenica*, 9), *BSOAS*, 16 (1954), pp. 271-97.

extreme *šī'ī* movements during the fifteenth century, namely, "Revolts in Anatolia, the propaganda of Faḍlullāh the Ḥurūfī, the Mahdism of the Musha'sha' in Southern Iraq, the deep penetration of Safavi agents into Asia Minor, and possibly the final formation of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq doctrine . . .", and concludes, "With regard to the Qara-qoyunlu, the evidence is clear that they pretended to something more than dominion based on sheer force and that, in trying to unify their adepts on a *shī'a* platform, they can be regarded as the forerunners of the Safavids."¹ However, on Ġahān-Šāh and his Šī'ism MINORSKY says that "only on close examination can one discover in the poems a tinge of Shī'ite feelings and terminology²." His *taḥalluṣ*, "Ḥaḳīqī", is in strict Šūfī fashion.

On some of Ġahān-Šāh's coinage the *šī'ī* formula "'Alī is the walī of Allāh" does appear, but almost always the names of the Four Caliphs are also found on the reverse of the coins³.

Broadly speaking therefore, one can safely state that, during the period of the post-Ilḥānīd dynasties, there were signs that Šī'ism was the favored form of Islam. These signs extended from simple reverence of the Prophet's family to open *rafd* and extreme views. However, no formal total adherence to *īṭnā'aṣārī* Šī'ism can be noted; and perhaps the following general statement by M. Jean AUBIN is a good summation of the way many of the rulers of these dynasties chose to win over the allegiance of their subjects: "La question se pose de savoir quelle pouvait être l'attitude des dynasties turkmènes devant la montée du chiisme. Espérant pouvoir canaliser cette force, les souverains ne la heurtaient que lorsqu'elle devenait un péril. Le problème n'était pas pour les Qara Qonyunlu ou les Aq Qonyunlu de se montrer hostiles ou favorables au chiisme, mais d'adopter une politique qui leur garantit un large support parmi leur sujets."⁴

Far more serious, however, is the involvement of *īṭnā'aṣārī* Šī'ism with such extreme groups ("dynasties" is too formal an appellation) as the Sarbadārs in Ḥurāsān and the Muṣa'sa's in southern Iraq during the times of the two leading *īṭnā'aṣārī* thinkers Muḥammad ibn Makki al-Āmilī and Aḥmad ibn Fahd al-Ḥillī. For here there appears to have been an attempt made on the part of "high Šī'ism" to appeal to forms that can definitely be described as heretical.

A. Ibn Makki and the Sarbadārs

The story of Muḥammad ibn Makki al-Āmilī, "aš-Šahīd al-Awwal", has been told many times in *īṭnā'aṣārī lexherés*⁵, and so was the tempestuous history of the "communistic" Sarbadārs in many chronicles⁶. On the one hand, we have an *īṭnā'aṣārī* scholar who grew up in the best tradition of the high *imāmī* school which goes back to Ibn al-Muṭahhar and long before, and on the other we have a group of adventurers who established a "state" along the eastern Iranian marches (around the city of Baihaq/Sabzawār), egged on by popular Šūfī

¹ *Ibid.*, 273-274.

² *Ibid.*, 281; two instances are given here with possible reference to Ḥaṣrat-i 'Alī. Ġahān-Šāh's poems are in Persian and Turkish. See also A. BOMBACI, *Storia della letteratura Turca* (Napoli 1956), 233-39, chapter entitled "Sovrani poeti" on Aḥmad Ġalāyir, Ġahān-Šāh and Šāh Ismā'īl.

³ Richard BURN, "Coins of Jahān Shāh Kara Qoyunlu and some contemporary rulers", *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Roy. Numismatic Society*, 5th ser., No. 71 (1938), 173-197. Cf. MINORSKY's note on Qara-qoyunlu coinage in "Jihān-Shāh . . .", 279 and n. 5; and 'Azzāwī, *Tārīḥ an-nuqūd al-'Irāqīya* (Baghdād 1377/1958), 80 ff.

⁴ J. AUBIN, "Note", 125-33.

⁵ Šūstārī, *Maḡālis*, 241; Maḡlīlī, *Bihār*, I, Introduction, 119-123; Māmaqānī, *Tanqīḥ al-maḡāl*, III, 191-2; 'Abbās Qummlī, *Fawā'id ar-raṣawīya*, 645-53, and others.

⁶ Faḡhī, *Muḡmal*, III, 50-51; Ḥwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb*, III, 356 ff.; Mīrḥwānd, *Rauḍat aš-ṣafā*, V, 624; Isfīzārī, *Rauḍat al-ḡannadī*, II, 8 ff.; Ḥāfīz-i Abrū, "Tārīḥ-i umarā-yi Sarbadārīya . . ." (in F. TAUBER, *Cinq opuscules de Ḥāfīz-i Abrū*, Prague 1959), 15-26; and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Rihla*, 383-385.

leaders (beginning with Šaiḥ Ḥalīfa, and going through Ḥasan Ġūrī, Darwiš 'Aziz, and Darwiš Rukn ad-Dīn)¹, and took it upon themselves to impose justice through tyranny. The contact between the two came during the reign of the last Sarbadār ruler 'Alī Mu'ayyad (766–788/1364–1386) and in the last years of Ibn Makki's life (killed 786/1384).

The correspondence between the Sarbadār ruler and the Šī'ī scholar was started by the former, who invited Ibn Makki to come to Ḥurāsān to assist in the establishment of *īḡnā'ašārī* Šī'ism². Ibn Makki could not make the trip since he was already involved in a struggle for his life in Damascus with certain groups who had accused him of heretical ideas³. While in prison waiting the outcome of his trial, Ibn Makki wrote (in seven days, we are told) *al-Lum'a al-Dimašqiya*, an important work on *imāmi* fiqh, and sent it to Sabzawār with the Sulṭān's messenger⁴.

There appears to have been no doubt that Ibn Makki's involvement with powers outside Mamlūk Syria was reason enough for his execution⁵. With his death and the end of the Sarbadār state shortly afterwards, the experiment of establishing an *īḡnā'ašārī* state in eastern Irān failed. In many ways, Šāh Ismā'il was the successor who put 'Alī Mu'ayyad's attempt into effect a little more than a century later in Ādārbaigān⁶.

B. Ibn Fahd and the Muša'ša's

With Aḥmad ibn Fahd al-Ḥillī⁷, the contacts between *īḡnā'ašārī* Šī'ism and extremist religious ideas of the *ḡulāt* type were much stronger.

¹ On the role of these *šūfī* leaders in Sarbadār history see I. P. PETRUSHEVSKII, "Nahḍat-i Sarbadārān dar Ḥurāsān", transl. by Karīm Kišāwarz, in *Farhang-i Irān-zamīn*, 10 (1962), pp. 124–224. (The article originally appeared as "Dviženie Serbedarov v Khorasane" in *Učēnie Zapiski Instituta Vostočovedenia*, v. 14 (Moscow 1956). BROWN's "Ḥusayn Jūrī" in *LHP*, III, 178, should be corrected to "Ḥasan Jūrī".

² See text of letter reproduced by Muḥammad Riḍā Šams ad-Dīn in his *Ḥayāt al-Imām aš-Šahīd al-Awwal*, an-Naḡaf, 1376/1957, pp. 4–5, and 59, n. 2. The authenticity of this letter needs to be established. According to Šams ad-Dīn, the correspondence was begun when Ibn Makki was in Bagdād. See also 'Abbās IQBAL, *Tārīḥ*, 466.

³ The original story on the death of Ibn Makki is ascribed to his student al-Miqdād as-Suyūrī (who is also a teacher of Ibn Fahd al-Ḥillī). Miqdād died in 826/1423; on him see ZIRIKLI, *A'lām*, VIII, 207, s. v. "al-Miqdād al-Ḥillī"; KAḤḤĀLA, *Mu'ḡam*, XII, 318, s. v. "al-Miqdād al-Suyūrī"; and *GAL*, Suppl. II 209. The story is preserved in Maḡlisī, *Biḡār*, vol. 25, p. 38 (of the lith. edition, 1303?/1885? Volumes 25–26 of the *Biḡār*, being the last two books of the lith. edition, are referred to as *Iḡdārāt al-Biḡār*). The dramatized form of the story in Šams ad-Dīn, *Ḥayāt*, is a faithful rendering of the original with the exception that the use of *taqīya* by Ibn Makki is left out in *Ḥayāt*, pp. 75–77. The Miqdād story is also mentioned in Tunakābunī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 340–41 in the biography of aš-Šahīd al-Awwal. See also Ḥwānsārī *Rawḍāt*, 127–29, and Sulaimān DĀNIR, "Šilat al-'ilm bayn Dimašq wa-Ġabal 'Āmil", *Maḡallat al-Maḡma' al-'Ilmi al-'Arabī*, IX, (Damascus 1929), 269–79 and 341–354.

⁴ Zain ad-Dīn al-'Āmilī, "aš-Šahīd aṭ-Ṭānī" (d. 966/1558), *ar-Rauḍa al-Baḡhiya bi-ṣarḥ al-Lum'a ad-Dimašqiya*, (lith. Tabriz 1275–76/1858–59), p. 5.

⁵ Šams ad-Dīn, *Ḥayāt*, 74.

⁶ PETRUSHEVSKII in his long monograph on the Sarbadārs (see above n. 1) oddly enough does not make any mention of the relation between 'Alī Mu'ayyad and the Šī'ī scholar Ibn Makki. Apparently he does not see that Mu'ayyad wanted to stabilize his rule by adopting an established religion (i. e. *īḡnā'ašārīya*) rather than keep the country under the influence of the dervishes mentioned above. Did this not fit into PETRUSHEVSKII's scheme of things? Jean AUBIN puts it a little differently in his "Tamerlan à Bagdād", *Arabica*, IX, 306: "Ménacés par le radicalisme des couches populaires, les chefs sarbadārs s'étaient ralliés d'enthousiasme à Tamerlan, dont les convictions sunnites étaient nourries, avant tout, de conservatisme religieux et social." MINORSKY however believes that "the republic of Sabzavār . . . was still another example of the democratic traditions with which this form of heterodoxy was inspired on Persian soil." See his "Iran: Opposition, Martyrdom, and Revolt" in *Unity and Variety*, p. 192.

⁷ On Aḥmad ibn Fahd al-Ḥillī see (in addition to p. 64, note 1) Maḡlisī, *Biḡār*, I, 199–203 of the

To begin with, Ibn Fahd, in addition to his having been the leading *imāmi* scholar of his time (his "conversion" of the Qara-qoyunlu governor in Bagdād to *īnā'ašari* Ši'ism has just been mentioned above p. 64), is described in Ši'i biographical works as having himself entertained unconventional *šūfi* ideas of folk-Islamic nature which later *īnā'ašari*s questioned¹. Further, he is said to have been conversant with the "strange sciences" (*al-'ulūm al-ġarība*, i. e. magic and miracle making) on which subject he also composed a small work², which he later wanted to destroy. His circle at Hilla was brilliant and was the meeting place of many scholars and students of *imāmi* thought³.

One of Ibn Fahd's more celebrated students was Muḥammad ibn Falāḥ known as al-Muša'sa'. (The other was the equally famous Muḥammad Nūrbahš the founder of the Nūrbahšiya *ṭariqa* in eastern Īrān and Māwarā'annahr). Ibn Falāḥ must have been a special student of Ibn Fahd's inasmuch as the teacher married the student's widowed mother and gave his own daughter in marriage to him⁴.

After being well-grounded in the Muslim and Ši'i sciences Ibn Falāḥ declared himself to be the Mahdī and claimed descent from the family of the Prophet⁵. We are told further that he made use of his teacher's book on miracles and magic and began to attract many adherents chiefly among the Arab tribes in the marshlands of southern Iraq, where after many years of wandering (including a suspicious sojourn at the old Ismā'ili center in Quhistān⁶) he estab-

Introduction; Māmaqāni, *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl*, I, 92-93; 'Abbās Qummi, *Fawā'id ar-Rasawiya*, 33-35; and *GAL*, II, 213 and Suppl. II, 210.

¹ Šūstari, *Mağālis*, 241: «وصوفى ومراتض صاحب ذوق وحال بود» and so does Mağlisī in his *Biḥār*, I, p. 200 of the Introduction. Baḥrānī in *Lu'lu'at al-Baḥrain*, p. 155, says it more clearly:

«فاضل عالم فقيه مجتهد زاهد عابد ورع تقى بنّ إلا أن له ميلا إلى الصوفية بل تفوّ به في بعض مصنفاته»

But 'Abd ar-Raḥīm ar-Rabbānī Aš-Širāzī, editor of *Biḥār*, attempts to deny Ibn Fahd's inclination to Šūfism (vol. I, p. 200, n. 1 of the Introduction): «لكن أبو علي الرجالي نزه ساحة عن ذلك في كتاب منتهى المقال» - Very few of Ibn Fahd's works are published. BROCKELMANN lists 13 books of which only one was published, and Mağlisī lists 18 of which two only were published.

² 'Azzāwī, *Tārīḥ*, III, 108; and Ḥwānsārī, *Rauḍat*, 21.

³ One of Ibn Fahd's students, Saiḥ 'Alī ibn Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭā'i, describes his teacher's circle of studies in an interesting poem quoted in Šūstari, *Mağālis*, 241, and in *Nāma-yi Dānišwarān-i Nāsirī*, I, 372-73.

⁴ 'Azzāwī, *Tārīḥ*, III, 109-110, quoting from Ibn Šadqam, *Tuḥfat al-aḥbār*. (On Ibn Šadqam see ZIRIKLI, *A'lām*, II, 232, КАХҲАЛА, *Mu'ğam*, III, 251, and *GAL*, Suppl., II, 599. However, none of these sources mentions the *Tuḥfa*.)

⁵ The genealogy is given in 'Azzāwī, *Tārīḥ*, III, 108:

«محمد بن فلاح بن هبة الله بن حسن بن علي المرتضى بن عبد الحميد النساب بن أبي علي فخار بن أحمد بن أبي القاسم محمد بن أبي عبيد الله الحسين بن محمد بن إبراهيم الحجاب بن محمد العابد الصالح بن الإمام موسى الكاظم»

The list in Šūstari, *Mağālis*, 403, is essentially the same. Only part of this genealogy, extending to the seventh generation of Abū 'Alī Faḥār, could be verified from the detailed lists given in Rauzātī, *Ġāmi' al-ansāb*, I, 23 and 26 (of the text).

⁶ Ibn Falāḥ is said to have gone - or perhaps been invited - to Quhistān in 800/1397 to officiate at the unearthing of the tomb of a local saint (Mazār al-Ḥamidilillāh 'Alawī). According to *Tārīḥ-i Ḥusainī*, he assisted in the building of a *qubba* on the shrine and left one of his companions, Darwish Ḥusain, in charge before returning to Iraq. See 'Āyatī, *Bahāristān* . . . , 151-52. According to *Tārīḥ-i Ġa'fari* (written in 851-856/1447-52 by Ġa'far ibn Muḥammad Ḥusainī - on him see Storey, 86 and 1235), Sayyid Muḥammad ibn Falāḥ is said to «در مذهب فلاسفه واسماعيلية عمل میکرد». - See J. AUBIN, "Deux Sayyids", 380, n. 2. (The biographical sections of this *Tārīḥ* have been published by Īraj Aḩšār in "Čand faṣl az Tārīḥ-i Kabīr", *Farhang-i Īrān-zamīn*, VI, (1337/1959) pp. 89-94 (*muqaddima*), and 95-158 (text). Moreover a hitherto unpublished Ph. D. thesis of Mainz University should be mentioned here: 'Abbās ZARYAB, *Der Bericht über die Nachfolger Timur's aus dem Ta'riḥ-i Kabir des Ġa'fari ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥusainī* (Mainz 1960).

lished himself in Huwaiza¹. The success of his movement was partly due to the fact that his headquarters in Hūzistān was remote from the authority of the central government in Baġdād and Tabriz. The attraction of the Arab tribes in southern Iraq to the Muša'ša' movement is a curious thing in itself (since Ši'ism was not the sole domain of the Iranians), but there are no indications that it should be construed as a separatist and nationalist move on the part of Ibn Falāḥ and his followers².

Ibn Fahd tried to curb the excesses of his student and son-in-law but was denounced by him³. In fact, after establishing himself in southern Iraq, Ibn Falāḥ tried to be friendly with the Qara-qoyunlu governors in Baġdād who saw his usefulness against the Timūrid governor in Fārs. However, when the Muša'ša' movement grew beyond control, particularly when under Ibn Falāḥ's son, Maulā 'Alī, Muša'ša' bands began to harrass the pilgrimage routes in southern Iraq, the Qara-qoyunlu moved to curb the Muša'ša's, and Maulā 'Alī was killed in an engagement with a Qara-qoyunlu army sent against him in 861/1456-57⁴.

Ibn Falāḥ outlived his son by a few years and died in 866/1461. His extreme religious views are preserved in a work known as *Kalām al-Mahdī*, a work which encompasses the secret doctrines of the Muša'ša' movement⁵.

¹ On Huwaiza see *Farhang-i ġuġrāfiyā-yi Irān*, VI, 371; KAHNAN, II 466-476 (on Hūzistān); Yāqūt, "al-Huwaiza", (his description throws very interesting light on the unruly character of its inhabitants); Qazwīnī, *Nuḥat*, Persian text 110-111 (English translation, LE STRANGE, 109); Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, 218/GRIBB's translation, II, 321-22; and *Tārīḥ-i ġuġrāfiyā-yi Hūzistān*, 240-42 (where two Huwaizas are distinguished). Šūstari, *Maġālis*, 30, depends chiefly on Yāqūt. Huwaiza became an important center of Ši' learning. See BROWNE on Ni'mat Allāh al-Jazā'iri (LHP, IV, 360 ff.), and Tunakābunī, *Qīṣaṣ al-'ulamā*, 436 ff. See also several Huwaizi authors in Kantūri, *Kāf al-ḥuḡub wa al-astār*.

² On the Muša'ša' movement in general see: The Persian chronicles (Hwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb*, IV, 497; Rūmlū, *Aḥsan*, I, 104, Qazwīnī, *Lubb*, 250; Gaffāri, *Ġahān-ārā*, 253, 272; Iskandar Munšī, *Tārīḥ-i 'ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, I, 35; and the Anonymous History of Šāh Ismā'īl, Cambridge University Library MS. Add. 200, quoted in BROWNE, LHP, IV, 59) deal primarily with the Muša'ša' history contemporary with Šāh Ismā'īl. Ḥunġī, however, in *Tārīḥ-i 'ālam-ārā-yi Amīnī*, 46, 93, 98, deals with the rise of the Muša'ša' in the same vein in which he treats the Šafawid era of Ġunaid and Haidar. Abū Bakr Ṭīhrānī in *Tārīḥ-i Diyār-bakrīya* (vol. I, ed. F. SÜMER) makes passing mention of "tuġyān-i Muša'ša'" (p. 258) and "ilġār-i Muša'ša'" (p. 262), but gives no other details. The contemporary 'Irāqī chronicle *al-Tārīḥ al-Ġiyāfi* is used extensively by 'Azzāwī, *Tārīḥ*, III, 109 ff. (For some unexplainable reason my photocopy of this manuscript lacks the sections on the Muša'ša' used by 'Azzāwī). Šūstari, *Maġālis*, 403 ff., uses *Tārīḥ-i Ġiyāfi*, while 'Abd Allāh ibn Nūr ad-Dīn's *Taghīra-yi Šuštār*, p. 33 ff., is perhaps an independent source. Of the modern scholars who dealt with the subject of the Muša'ša's first mention should be made to Aḥmad KASRAWI's *Tārīḥ-i paṇṣad sāla-yi Hūzistān, Muša'ša'īyān yā baḥṣi az tārīḥ-i Hūzistān* (see in this work, pp. 6-8 for several important sources used by KASRAWI), and his short work in Arabic *al-Taṣayyu' wa al-Ši'a*. W. CASSEL wrote two articles on the subject: "Ein Mahdi des 15. Jahrhunderts. Saijid Muḥammad ibn Falāḥ und seine Nachkommen", *Islamica*, IV (1929-31), 48-93; and "Die Wali's von Huwezeh", *Ibid.*, VI (1933-1934), 415-434. V. MINORSKY gave a good summary in the article "Musha'sha'", *EI*, Supplement (1934). W. HINZ's short section on Muša'ša' bibliography in his "Quellenstudien zur Geschichte der Timuriden" *ZDMG*, 90 (1936), 396-98, added little to what was then written about this dynasty.

³ 'Azzāwī, *Tārīḥ*, III, 110.

⁴ Muša'ša' interference with the pilgrimage route drew the attention of the Egyptian historians who are important independent sources for the movement. See Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' az-ruḥūr*, II, 45, 54, and 60; and Ibn Tagrī-birdī, *Ḥawādīṣ ad-duḥūr* (ed. POPPER), Part 2, pp. 199, 249-250, and 305-306. (On the basis of these sources A. N. POLIAK wrote an article entitled "Les revoltes populaires en Égypte à l'époque des Mamelouks, et leurs causes économiques", *Revue des Études Islamiques*, VIII (1934). POLIAK, however, misunderstood and misread the name Ibn Falāḥ as "ibn al-fallāḥ", i. e. "son of the peasant", and concluded that this was a revolt of the "fils du fellah" against the feudal lords. See his article pp. 255-56.)

⁵ KASRAWI appears to be the only scholar who discusses Ibn Falāḥ's *Kalām al-Mahdī*. See his *Muša'ša'ī-yān*, pp. 19-20, 26, and 22-23 (where he discusses the religious views of the Muša'ša's within the context

His son Maulā Muḥsin, after having been accepted by Uzūn Ḥasan as "ruler" in Ḥūzistān, became belligerent during the period of relative unrest which followed the death of the great leader of the Aq-qoyunlus, and raided Baġdād in 883/1478. But when Sultān Ya'qūb, son of Uzūn Ḥasan, established himself he dispatched an army against Sultān Muḥsin who was utterly defeated in 889/1484. Ya'qūb subsequently handled the affairs of the south very dexterously by forcing a wedge between Maulā Muḥsin ("that Shaykh of the Polytheists", as Faḍl Allāh ibn Rūzbihān Ḥuṅgī called him)¹ and his defecting son Sayyid Ḥasan who, however, had to send his own son to Tabriz as a hostage².

The Muša'sa' succession after Maulā Muḥsin is not very clear in the sources or in the later authorities. The name Fayyāḍ (or Fayyāz, depending on whether you are reading the Arabic or the Persian sources), who was either the brother or the son of Sultān Muḥsin, was the Muša'sa' leader who met Šāh Ismā'il after the latter had conquered Baġdād in 914/1508-9 and was pressing southward against Ḥūzistān and Širāz. Two other sons of Muḥsin, 'Alī and Ayyūb, are also given as the Muša'sa' leaders who attempted to make a stand against the Šafawid Šāh³. And as MINORSKY put it: "The two movements inevitably came into conflict . . . Besides, (Šāh Ismā'il) could hardly allow a rival Shī'a organization to persist."⁴

When Ismā'il left the area another son of Muḥsin (Falāḥ by name) regained control in Ḥuwaiza, but his position was that of dependence on the Šafawid central government. With him the Muša'sa's as an independent "state" ceased to exist, and the era of the wālīs of Ḥuwaiza (or of Ḥūzistan or 'Arabistān) begins. Falāḥ ibn Muḥsin died in 920/1514.

However, for a long time, and inasmuch as the boundaries between the Ottoman empire and the Šafawid state remained by and large undefined, the wālīs of Ḥuwaiza were torn between the two powers⁵.

In *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk* (a work of the later Šafawid period) we are told: "The wālīs in the provinces of Irān are four, whose names follow in the order of their importance and dignity. The first is the wālī of 'Arabistān, who is higher and more honoured than his colleagues, on account of his belonging to a sayyid family, his valour and the number of his tribes . . ."⁶

of 'Alī-Ilāhism.) In a special "dunbāla" (*Muša'sa'iyān*, 124-128) KASRAWI quotes at length from Ibn Falāḥ's *Kalām*. The following is a good example:

«بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم - الاعتقاد أن علياً الذي يحب النبي هو السرّ الدائر في السماء والأرض ومحمد (ص) كان هو الحجاب بنوع الرسالة والأحد عشر اماماً كانوا هم الملائكة منهم إليه ومنه إليهم. وسلمان من أهل البيت والبيت هي الطريقة والمعرفة وكلّ من وصل إلى عرفانه كان سلمان في كل عصر وزمان. وهذا السيد (أى محمد بن فلاح) الذي ظهر هو بمنزلة كل نبي وكل ولي بالنوع الظاهر وضعف البشرية لا بالقوة القاهرة لأن الحقيقة لا تنتقل بل ينتقل الحجاب ويتصف (هذه الكلمة غير مفهومة في الأصل المطبوع) البدن كجبرئيل مع تشكّله بعدة أبدان مع بقاء الحقيقة على حالها . . .»

¹ Ḥuṅgī/MINORSKY, *Tārīḥ-i 'ālam-ārā-yi Amīnī*, 84.

² 'Azzāwī, *Tārīḥ*, III, 272.

³ MINORSKY, "Musha'sha'", *EI*, first edition, Supplement, makes Fayyāḍ the 3rd son of Muḥ. ibn Falāḥ; CASSEL in "Ein Mahdi . . ." makes him the son of Muḥsin, and has them both dying in the same year 914/1508; KASRAWI is for 'Alī and Ayyūb (*Muša'sa'iyān*, 38-39); Ḥwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb*, IV, 497, is for Fayyāḍ ibn Muḥsin and describes a bloody battle between the Šafawids and the Muša'sa's; Azzāwī, *Tārīḥ*, III, 345, accepts Ḥwāndamīr's story.

⁴ MINORSKY, *loc. cit.*

⁵ On this part of Muša'sa' history see CASSEL, "Die Wali's von Huwezeh", *Islamica*, VI (1933-34), 415-434; and KASRAWI, *Muša'sa'iyān*, 42 ff.

⁶ MINORSKY, *T. M.*, 44. The others are the wālīs of Luristān, Georgia, and Kurdistan. The ruler of the Baḥtiyārī tribe comes after them in importance.

A later governor, Sulṭān Muḃārak (ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Ḥaidar ibn Muḃsin ibn Sayyid Muḃammad ibn Falāḥ), d. 1025/1616, "introduced the teaching of the Twelver Shī'a to Ḥa-wīza."¹

The two *imāmi* scholars (Ibn Makki and Ibn Fahd) whose attempts to establish Twelver Šī'ism have just been briefly reviewed, worked primarily within the context of traditional "high Šī'ism" of the *ṣūfī* persuasion. They cannot be blamed for the highly unorthodox and heretical views of the persons or groups with whom they came in contact – the *ḡulāt* Sarbadārs and the Mahdi Muṣa'ṣa' extremists. Nor can traditional Šī'ism be expected to lead popular movements guided by undefined and heterodox ideas working outside and beyond legitimate means. Ibn Makki and Ibn Fahd, however, remain the leading *ṣūfī* scholars of their times. They can best be viewed, together with their immediate predecessor Ibn al-Muṭahhar, as the three most important representatives of the *ṣūfī* school during the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries who constitute the missing link between the so-called "three early Muḃammads" (Kulaini, Ibn Bābawaih, and Ṭūsī "Šaiḥ aṭ-Ṭā'ifa") and the "three later Muḃammads" of the high Ṣafawid period (al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī, Mullā Muḃsin-i Faiḍ, and Muḃammad Bāqir Maḡlisi)².

7. From Šaiḥ Ḡunaid to Šāh Ismā'il: The Ṣafawid Movement

In sections 3 and 4 above, two phases of the history of the Šūfī Order at Ardabīl were discussed, namely the predecessors of Šaiḥ Ṣafī ad-Dīn, and the growth and development of the Order under its first four leaders: Šaiḥ Ṣafī, Šaiḥ Ṣadr, Ḥwāḡa 'Alī, and Šaiḥ Ibrāhīm. It was pointed out in the course of the discussion that while the Order was growing in importance and while its influence was spreading among the Turkmān tribes in Āḡarbaigān and Anatolia as well as in Ḥurāsān, the heads of the Order remained essentially simple Šūfī *ṣaiḥs* held in high esteem by their followers and honored by the ruling dynasties throughout the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries. It was further pointed out that no *ṣi'i* tendencies of any particular type (*ṣūfī*, *Is-mā'īlī*, or *ḡulāt*) could be detected among the leaders of the Order or their followers beyond the special position which the family of the Prophet enjoyed at the level of folk-Islam.

A more or less true picture may be drawn from the following anecdote (whose historical worth and veracity may be questioned) to show this early state of affairs: Amīr Čūbān, the most influential figure at the court of the last İlḡānīd Sulṭān Abū Sa'id, is said to have once asked Šaiḥ Ṣafī ad-Dīn, "Who are more numerous, your *murīds* or my men?" And Šaiḥ Ṣafī is supposed to have answered, "In Īrān today, for every man at arms there are one hundred men of devotion."³ The man of devotion died peacefully in his home town of Ardabīl; Amīr Čūbān led a hectic and tempestuous life, was finally strangled in Kurt territory at Herāt, and his body carried in great pomp to Medina where he had chosen to be buried in the Prophet's city⁴.

Following the death of Šaiḥ Ibrāhīm (whose leadership of the Order, as was pointed out, was singularly uneventful) a sudden and tremendous change occurred in the Order of Ardabīl

¹ MINORSKY, "Musha'sha'", *EI*, first edition, Supplement. Laurence LOCKHART's note on the Musha'sha' in his *The Fall of the Safawi Dynasty and the Afghan Occupation of Persia* (Cambridge 1958), p. 5, n. 4 is misleading to say the least. In his statement (on p. 6) that "The Musha'sha' Sayyids, like the majority of their Arab tribesmen, were Sunnis", the word "Sunnis" must be a slip for "Šī'i"! Cf. M. B. DICKSON's review of LOCKHART's book in *JAOS*, 82 (1962), 514.

² On the "three early Muḃammads" and the "three later Muḃammads" and their works see BROWN, *LHP*, IV, 358-59.

³ Ḡaffārī, *Ḡahān-ārā*, 260; and Amīn Aḡmad Rāzī, *Haft Iqlīm*, III, 253.

⁴ See above p. 64, note 3, and Ibn Ḥaḡar al-'Asqalānī, *Durar*, I, 541-42 (biography No. 1463). According to Bidlīsī, *Šaraf-nāma*, II, 118, Amīr Čūbān "was one of the truest and greatest of Šaiḥ Ṣafī ad-Dīn's *murīds*".

and its leaders. With the succession of Šaiḥ Ġunaid the Order seemed to be transformed into a militant movement which, like a whirlwind, grew in intensity during the period of Ġunaid's son Ḥaidar, and during Ḥaidar's son Sulṭān 'Alī Pādišāh, and which finally carried Ḥaidar's second son Ismā'il and seated him on the throne of the Šafawids at Tabriz. This development took less than half a century, and the phenomenon is very difficult to explain. The original sources are silent at this crucial moment in Šafawid history, and even if Muslim traditional historians are not expected to explain and account for matters of this nature, one cannot help but feel that the chroniclers were unable to encompass and understand what had actually taken place.

The author of *Silsilat an-nasab*, for example, all of a sudden begins to write "briefly and by way of summary" (*bar sabīl-i iğāz va ihtisār*)¹. Earlier historians note the change and make the necessary accommodations: most of them begin making reference to Ġunaid and Ḥaidar by using the title *sulṭān* as opposed to the usual term *šaiḥ* given to the heads of the Ardabīl Order from Šaiḥ Šafī ad-Dīn to Šaiḥ Ibrāhīm. In certain cases too, when writing about the Šafawid dynasty a specific "beginning" (*ibtidā*) is made with Ġunaid who is said to have combined in his person both the religious and secular powers².

But no one among these writers goes beyond this hint of a change – no one that is except Faḍl Allāh ibn Rūzbihān Ḥunḡī, the staunch Sunni writer at the court of Sulṭān Ya'qūb son of Uzūn Ḥasan Aq-qoyunlu, who observes: "... what a pity that, while Šafī al-Dīn preserved his being from a doubtful repast, he did not restrain his children from the vanities of this world. As a result, his progeny foresook poverty and humility for the throne of a kingdom." And he adds: "When the boon of succession reached Junayd, he altered the way of life of his ancestors:

¹ Zāhidī, *Silsilat*, 66. Cf. the treatment of Ġunaid and Ḥaidar by Ḥwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb*, IV, 424–27; Qazwīnī, *Lubb*, 238–39; Gaḥfārī, *Gahān-ārā*, 261–62; Maḡdī, *Zīnat al-maḡālīs*, 977–78; and Iskandar Munṣī, *Tārīḥ-i 'ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, I, 17–18.

² Qazwīnī, *Lubb*, 238, says: «أما ابتدأ ابن طایفة قدسیه در زمان حضرت سلطان جنید بوده» – and refers to Ḥaidar by saying (p. 239): «حضرت ابو الغازی سلطان حیدر»
Maḡdī in *Zīnat al-maḡālīs* says (p. 977):

«چون نوبت ارشاد بحضرت سلطان جنید ... رسید آنحضرت دایم سلطنت صوری فرمودید»

Iskandar Munṣī in *Tārīḥ-i 'ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, I, 19, speaks about Ḥaidar in the following terms:

«... تا آنکه جامه سلطنت صوری و معنوی گشته باطناً بدستور مشایخ و اهل الله سالک طریق ارشاد و دین پروری و ظاهراً بآئین سلاطین مستد آرای سروری بود»

Gaḥfārī, *Gahān-ārā* (who uses the term "Sulṭān" for Šadr ad-Dīn, Ḥwāḡa 'Alī, and Ibrāhīm, pp. 260–61) begins his section on Ġunaid (p. 261) as follows:

«... چون آثار سلطنت صوری همچون انوار ولایت معنوی واضح بود ...»

and Ḥwāndamīr in *Ḥabīb as-siyar*, IV, 427, describes Ḥaidar as follows:

«... و با آنکه جامع اسباب سیادت صوری (صوری/sic) و معنوی سلطان حیدر الصفوی ...»

Nahrawālī in *Kitāb al-I'lām*, 223–24 describes the rise of Ḥaidar as follows:

«وكان الشيخ حيدر بن الشيخ جنيد الصفوي له ظهور عجيب واستيلاء على ملوك العميم يمة من الأعاجيب ... وشرح ذلك يحتاج الى تاريخ مستقل ولا أعلم أحدا تعرض له من العلماء الأعماد»

Qaramānī in *Aḥbār ad-duwal* (who bases his account chiefly on Munagḡim-bašī's *Gāmi' ad-duwal*) states, p. 344:

«وَأول من قام من هذه الطائفة وجع العسكر (الشيخ جنيد) بن الشيخ إبراهيم بن خواجة علي بن الشيخ صدر الدين بن الشيخ صفى الدين بن جبرآيل ...»

and entitles his section on the Šafawids:

«الباب الثاني والخمسون: في ذكر ملوك العميم من آل حيدر الصفوي الأردبيل الاسماعيل»

the bird of anxiety laid an egg of longing for power in the nest of his imagination. Every moment he strove to conquer a land or a region."¹

From Ḥunḡī's account two aspects of this change can be clearly singled out: one dealing with a change of religious position, and the other pointing to a tactical change in the manner the leaders of the Order planned to achieve their ends.

Regarding the first of these two aspects Ḥunḡī states that the followers of the Order "openly called Shaykh Junayd God (*ilāh*), and his son Son of God (*ibn Allāh*) . . . In his praise they said: 'he is the Living One, there is no God but he'. Their folly and ignorance were such that, if someone spoke of Shaykh Junayd as dead, he was no more to enjoy the sweet beverage of life; and if someone said that a part of his body (head) became missing, they would give up the threshing ground of his existence to the wind of non-existence"². And when Ḥaidar assumed the leadership of the movement after his father's death, "His father's lieutenants (*khulafā*) came from every direction and foolishly announced the glad tidings of his divinity (*ulūhiyat*) . . . Many people from Rūm, Ṭālīsh, and Siyāh-kūh (Qarāja-dāgh) gathered to him, and it is reported that they considered him as their god (*ma'būd*) and, neglecting the duties of *namāz* and public prayers (*'ibādāt*), looked upon the shaykh as their *qibla* and the being to whom prostration was due (*masjūd*)."³

This claim to divine essence reached its culmination with Ḥaidar's son Ismā'il. In his poetry Ismā'il is proud of his descent from 'Alī and Fāṭima. He believes in the reincarnation of the divine substance of 'Alī. He himself used to abide with God, but now he had appeared in the world. Both the prophetic and *imāmita* gifts are combined in his person . . . He has come as God's light, as the Seal of the Prophets, as a Perfect Guide, as the guiding *imām* . . . The Ḥallāḡian formula (of) "anā 'l-Haqq" lives in his soul⁴.

There were no prior indications that such a change was fast overtaking the Ardabil Order and its leaders. From contemplative *ṣūfism* under Šaiḡ Šafī ad-Dīn to open heresy of the *ḡulāt* type under Ġunaid and Ḥaidar is a long way and a far cry. The only explanation that could be offered (and this only by looking at the consequences rather than at the causes) is that by assuming this super-human and divine role, the new-type leaders of the Order could rally their followers and lead them to *ḡazā* and conquest. That too is probably why the contemporary Muḥammad Ibn Falāḡ the Muša'ša' claimed to be the Mahdī. In other words, the religious change was simply a pretext for political ends. The two are inextricably united in the persons of Ġunaid and Ḥaidar, and Šāh Ismā'il merely carried this to its natural conclusion. This is not to rob these leaders of their individuality and resourcefulness. But since we cannot possibly psychoanalyse them (if poetry were not an art form, then perhaps this could be done to Šāh Ismā'il – Ġunaid and Ḥaidar did not leave any written statements) we must be satisfied with trying to understand their achievements.

Regarding the second aspect which, as we said, could be singled out from Ḥunḡī's treatment of Ġunaid and Ḥaidar, and which we shall refer to simply as *ḡazā*, the convenient location of Ardabil on the frontiers of Dār al-Islām has already been noted in an earlier section⁵. On one or two occasions during the early history of the Order *ḡazā* activity in Āḡdarbaigān against the Christians of Georgia has also been observed⁶. However, in those early years of the life of the Order, *ḡazā* (if it existed at all in its historical sense) was occasional and perfunctory,

¹ Ḥunḡī/MINORSKY, *Tāriḡ-i 'Ālam-ārā Amīni*, 63.

² *Ibid.*, 66.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ MINORSKY, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismā'il I", *BSOAS*, X (1940-43), pp. 1006a-1053a.

⁵ See above p. 45 ff.

⁶ See above pp. 52, 54.

without interest or zeal. The leaders of the Šūfī Order at Ardabīl were pious men leading a life of introspection and contemplation. But with Ġunaid and Ḥaidar, *ḡazā* became a "state" policy and the constant occupation of the Order, its leaders and their followers.

It should be noted here that the entire area between Āḡarbaigān and Georgia across the Caucasus ranges was also the scene of large-scale military activity in the form of campaigns conducted by the conquerors – Mongols, Timūrids, etc. – and by locally established rulers throughout the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries. Uzūn Ḥasan, the leading figure among the Aq-qoyunlu Turkmāns, conducted no less than five such campaigns against Georgia¹, and his son Sulṭān Ya'qūb invaded the area on more than one occasion. But these "organized" campaigns should be differentiated from the essentially "unorganized" activity of the *ḡāzī* warriors under Ġunaid and Ḥaidar.

For all of a sudden now, the *murīds* of the Order became the *ḡuzāl-i šūfiya*², and under the leadership of Ġunaid and Ḥaidar we see them fighting in large numbers against the Christian enclave of Trapezund, or against the Georgians of the Caucasus. It is no more the heart of the Muslim world which attracts them; it is no more Rūm, Šām, or Māwarā'annahr; it is no more the *Dār al-Islām* but the *Dār al-Ḥarb*. Overnight they have become *ḡāzīs* fighting the unbelievers along the Muslim frontiers of the north.

Before concentrating his efforts against the Caucasus region, Šaiḥ Ġunaid tried his *ḡāzī* activity against the Byzantine enclave of Trapezund. Byzantine sources as well as Turkish sources testify to large-scale *ḡazā* in 861/1456 during the last years of Kalo Joannes. After winning initial victories against one of Joannes' leading men, Ġunaid encamped before the walls of the city, which however remained impregnable³.

There are indications that Ġunaid made extensive preparations before launching his *ḡāzī* career. When he assumed the leadership of the Order after his father's death in 851/1447, he journeyed in various parts of Syria and Anatolia. Ḥunḡi states that Ġunaid undertook this trip "for some reason or other"⁴ but the hint appears to be that he was gathering his men or else giving them instructions as to what he wanted them to do.

In any case, the short-lived *ḡazā* conducted by Ġunaid against Trapezund came to a sudden stop when Mehmed II, as he was rounding off the Ottoman boundaries in the east, ultimately conquered the city in 866/1461. Šaiḥ Ġunaid had already directed his attention somewhere else, and later Šafawid *ḡāzī* activity was channeled against the area of the Caucasus. For in 864/1459–60, Ġunaid was already engaged in large-scale operations against the Georgian Cherkēs⁵. A year before, Uzūn Ḥasan had given his own sister in marriage to Ġunaid, and the Šafawid leaders thus became "princes of the land". The contemporary Ḥunḡi remarks at this point: "Junayd's marriage became known even in the farthest corners of Rūm and Syria and, in view of this honour, the *Khalīfas* of the earlier shaykhs wanted to wait on him."⁶

It has been pointed out by a modern Persian scholar that Šaiḥ Ġunaid, according to the chronicles, combined the formal sultānate (*salṭanat-i šuwārī*) with the spiritual sultanate

¹ BROWNE, *LHP*, III, 409 ff.

² Iskandar Munši, *Tārīḥ-i 'ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, I, 18.

³ W. MILLER, *Trebizond*, 83 ff., based on Chalcocondyles (d. 1464). On Ġunaid in Anatolia see 'Āṣiq-pāšā Zāde (803–889/1400–1484), *Tawārīḥ-i Āl-i Osmān*, 264 ff.

⁴ Ḥunḡi/MINORSKY, 63, and n. 2 on the same page.

⁵ On the term "Cherkēs" and its general connotation for this period see Ḥunḡi/MINORSKY, 64, n. 2, and Annex III, 117–119.

⁶ Ḥunḡi/MINORSKY, 64. On the "Ḥalīfas" see the chapter entitled "The Supporters of the Lords of Ardabīl" in MINORSKY, *T. M.*, 189 ff., and FALSAFĪ, *Zandigānī-yi Šāh 'Abbās-i Awwal*, I, 161 ff. (on the Turkmān tribes), and 159–178 (on the Qizilbaš).

(*saḥṇat-i ma'navī*); and on this basis he urged the *šūfīs*, his followers, to carry on *gazā* and *ghihād* against the unbelievers (*kuffār*), and called himself Sultān Ġunaid. Shortly afterwards, with ten thousand *šūfīs* he crossed the Aras River on a *ghihād* against the Cherkēs¹.

However, Ġunaid's success was limited, and he finally had to fight a battle with Sultān Ḥalīl, the Širwān-šāh, through whose territory he had to pass. The Šafawid *gāzīs* were defeated and Ġunaid died fighting at the foot of the Caucasian range².

About Šaiḥ Ḥaidar and his role in the *gāzī* activity of this period, the sources are slightly more informative. Ḥwāndamīr, for example, states that Sultān Ḥaidar had the inclination (*mayalān*) for the attainment of the virtue of *gazā* and *ghihād* (*iḥrāz-i faḍilat-i gazā wa-ghihād*)³. And Iskandar Munšī says that gaining the rewards of *gazā* prevailed over Ḥaidar's nature (*iḥrāz-i maṭṭūbāt-i gazā bar ṣabī'at ḡalīb būd*)⁴.

The more informed Faḍl Allāh ibn Rūzbihān Ḥunḡī left a more detailed picture of Ḥaidar and his *gāzī* activity. He tells us that "... instead of lessons on the stages of a mystic (*maqā-māt-i ma'navī*), he read the pleasant stories of yore (*muṭayyibāt-i Pahlavī*)."⁵ Ḥunḡī left detailed descriptions of the large-scale preparations that were going on at Ardabīl at this time. He appears to have picked up the information from eyewitnesses. ("When the royal train [of Sultān Ya'qūb Aq-qoyunlu] reached Ardabīl, the author heard from trustworthy persons stories of the miserable ways of Ḥaydar"⁶). "I have heard", Ḥunḡī continues, "that he (Ḥaidar) made several thousand pikes, coats of mail, swords and shields ... because he wished to teach his adepts (*murīds*) as their leader (*murshid*)"; and when preparations were ready, "he issued to them arms from his arsenal, and they were obedient to him – youths, robust and warlike, sword-slashers in clever fighting."⁷

Ḥaidar had to clear his expeditions with the central authority – in this case, Sultān Ya'qūb Aq-qoyunlu son of Uzūn Ḥasan. His men, he wrote to the Sultān from Ardabīl, "having exerted themselves (*igṭihād*) in various religious exercises and duly completed the great *ghihād*, which is the assault of one's own soul, they now ... claimed the right to distinguish themselves in the lesser *ghihād*", which is to fight the infidels. "Should the sovereign permit, they would begin the holy war against the Cherkēs ..."⁸ Letters were dispatched to the Širwān-šāh (Faruḥ-yasār), son of Sultān Ḥalīl, to give Ḥaidar and his men safe conduct in their march to the north⁹.

This clearance was obtained in every one of Ḥaidar's three expeditions (for the third one he sent his mother all the way to Qum to obtain the permission¹⁰). After the permission was obtained, we are told that "the Shaykh with devilish haste, and together with the detachment

¹ FALSAFĪ, *op. cit.*, I, 180 (based on Ḥwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb*, IV, 425–426). Ḥunḡī (p. 64), however, says disparagingly "with a small number of heterogeneous elements".

² Ḥunḡī/MINORSKY, 64–65. Zāhidī, *Silsilat*, 67.

³ Ḥwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb*, IV, 432; and Iskandar Munšī, *Tārīḥ*, I, 19. Both Ḥwāndamīr and Munšī are using a work on Ḥaidar, which Ḥwāndamīr calls "*Futūḥāt-i Šāhī*" (IV, 434. The *Futūḥāt-i Šāhī* in the index to this volume, p. 758 is a printing error), and Munšī calls "*Futūḥāt-i Yumni/Yamani*?" (I, 18). Ḥwāndamīr (IV, 326–27) ascribes the work to Amīr Šadr ad-Dīn Sultān Ibrāhīm al-Amīnī who completed it in 926/1519–20. The author is perhaps Šrī and has translated 'Alī's dīwān into Persian *rubā'īs*. (The author could not further be identified.)

⁴ Ḥunḡī/MINORSKY, 66.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 67.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 68.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, 69.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 71.

that was in readiness, set forth from Ardabil to Sharvān . . . and innumerable troops joined him."¹

These expeditions were not taken seriously at first by the central authority. Sultān Ya'qūb is said to have remarked at one time: "What can happen from the campaigning of a *shaykh*, and what can a *derwish* do?"²

These raids, however, were quite large. "With some 10,000 men, the Shaykh passed through Darband on his way to the country of the infidel Cherkes . . . Having wrought havoc and taken captives, he triumphantly returned to Ardabil . . . The kings of the outlying regions were astonished at his success . . ." (first expedition). "The Shaykh returned from his (second) raid on the Cherkes and brought with him some 6,000 captives . . ."³ These figures should perhaps not be taken as definite historical data, but they do give an idea of the extent of this *gāzi* activity under Ḥaidar.

This extensive *gāzi* activity of the Šafawids along the frontiers of the Caucasus brings to mind the history of the rise of the Ottoman empire in western Anatolia more than two centuries earlier. Professor P. WITTEK's examination of Ottoman medieval history led him to the conclusion that the rise of the state of Osmān should be sought in its *gāzi* origins. Bands of warriors of the faith were fighting the unbelievers along the frontiers of Islam and carving out states for themselves and their followers. Byzantium crumbled and the Ottoman empire slowly rose. WITTEK's findings have not yet been seriously questioned⁴.

Compared to the Ottomans, the Šafawid followers of Ġunaid and Ḥaidar were working against much greater odds:

A. To begin with, their field of operation lacked an established and permanent base located right on the frontier marchlands. For Ardabil was far away, and the Šafawid leaders had to guide their men and carry whatever equipment they had across long stretches of land until they could come face to face with the "enemy" and begin their *gāzā*. Ardabil was several hundred miles to the southeast from where the *gāzis* fought. Further it should be remembered that the nature of the terrain was extremely hostile in the sense that this is a mountainous area – the confluence of the Zagros and Elburz ranges meeting in the Armenian knot. This was not the relatively open country which the Ottoman *gāzis* had at their disposal in their westward drive against Byzantium.

B. Secondly, the Šafawid *gāzis* did not have freedom of action. On the one hand, they had to contend with a central authority that was still strong, namely the Aq-qoyunlu Turkmāns under Sultān Ya'qūb; and on the other, which was perhaps more serious, the Širwān-šāhs who controlled the territory immediately bordering on Georgian lands. And while the Šafawids, as has been pointed out, could neutralize one of these two fronts, the Aq-qoyunlu, to whom they were related through strong marriage ties, they could at no time placate the suspicion of the rulers of Širwān. The latter were always wary of this *gāzi* activity. Their country, as Ibn Rūzbihān Ḥunġi tells us, was "a perpetual abode of peace."⁵ They gave permission to the *gāzis* to pass through to the north only after specific instructions were issued by and received from the central authority of the Aq-qoyunlus in Tabriz. The Širwān-šāhs actually had every reason to be afraid, for on both occasions (i. e. during Ġunaid and Ḥaidar) the *gāzis* turned against Širwān and were making preparations for its conquest. In the first case, the amirs of Širwān took care of the exigency on their own and were able to defeat Ġunaid and have him killed. In the second case, the Širwān-šāh Farruḥ-yasār had to ask the

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*, 70.

³ *Ibid.*, 69–70.

⁴ P. WITTEK, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, London 1938.

⁵ Ḥunġi/MINORSKY, 72.

assistance of Sultān Ya'qūb since he (the ruler of Širwān) was forced to evacuate his capital city of Šamāḥi in order to escape the ruthless onslaught of the Šafawid *gāzis*. Ya'qūb himself, of course, finally realized that the free hand he had originally given to Ḥaidar was over-reaching itself, and so he had to act to stop it and ultimately save his own crown. He therefore marched toward the north, sending one of his generals ahead with a large contingent of imperial troops. Ḥaidar had to fight on both fronts; and as "the šūfis . . . formed a circle around him and tried to repel and impede (the attackers)"¹ he died as a martyr on the slopes of Mt. Elburz.

It was natural for the *gāzis* to turn against Širwān, because only by removing this impediment could they have the whole field free to themselves. And this was the first step taken by Šāh Ismā'īl twelve years later. But by that time the central government of the Aq-qoyunlu was torn to pieces by interminable succession problems, and Ismā'īl did not fear action from that side. Furthermore, he could claim that he was only trying to take revenge from the rulers of Širwān for the death of his father and grandfather – both a good Muslim pretext and a convenient expedient.

C. A third difference between the Ottoman and Šafawid experiments was the fact that while Osmān, Orḥān and the others were only the leaders of the *gāzi* warriors in the battle-fields, Ğunaid and Ḥaidar were both military commanders and religious heads of the Šūfī Order at Ardabil. This dual capacity concentrated too much power in the hands of the Šafawid leaders, and, tending to the religious needs of their followers no doubt detracted from the efficient execution of the *gāzā* itself. And so it may be argued that assuming divine powers in order to rally their followers behind them (as has been hinted at above), Ğunaid and Ḥaidar may actually have been hindered rather than helped in the execution of their *gāzi* operations.

Two points (at least) remain to be explained: one, why is it that this *gāzi* activity took place at this time? And secondly, how did it assist in the establishment of the new state?

A tentative answer to the first question is perhaps to blame it all on the Turks! Meḥmed II, as was mentioned above, had just rounded off the eastern boundaries of his empire. The centralizing might of the Ottomans was too much to be accepted by the "freedom-loving" Turkmāns (who, it must not be forgotten, were the devoted followers of the Order at Ardabil). These Turkmāns flocked to the east, and Ğunaid and Ḥaidar simply gathered them together and led them against the infidel Georgians. *Gāzā* was always an attractive pastime!

If this is true, then we have the interesting and rather curious situation where the Anatolian "Turks" who under Osmān and Orḥān were conducting *gāzā* in the west against Byzantium are now the "Turkmāns" who were engaging in similar *gāzi* activity under Ğunaid and Ḥaidar against the Georgians. But who were the Turks? And who the Turkmāns? Are we to assume that they are all accounted for so neatly by Z. V. TOĞAN's "two million" who were pushed westward by the invading Mongols two or three centuries earlier?²

The second question as to how this *gāzi* activity helped in the ultimate foundation of the Šafawid state need not pose such difficult problems. The Turkmān *gāzis* of Ğunaid and Ḥaidar received their "basic training", so to speak, during the two or three decades before Ismā'īl; so that when his *ḥurūğ* occurred around 1500 they were the seasoned fighters of previous campaigns. The consummation of the act needed only good scouts to lead the way to the north. In true *gāzi* fashion, Ismā'īl conquered Baku before turning to Tabriz.

In addition to the religious *ḡulāt* factor and the political *gāzi* factor there were other factors that operated to help the leaders of the Ardabil Order attain their inevitable victory. Some of these have already been mentioned in passing.

¹ *Ibid.*, 81.

² See above p. 59, note 1.

The close ties between the Šafawid *dūdman* and the Aq-qoyunlu royal house through the marriages arranged by Uzūn Ḥasan between his sister and Šaiḥ Ḡunaid and his daughter and Šaiḥ Ḥaidar gave the Šafawid leaders a much higher position than ever before. Their descent from Šaiḥ Šafī ad-Dīn – in itself a great honor – became now more meaningful through their relation to the ruling family. This is another aspect of the spiritual-temporal duality which Ḡunaid and Ḥaidar enjoyed. True, Uzūn Ḥasan espoused the cause of the Šafawid Order more in opposition to the Qara-qoyunlu Ḡahān-šāh than to any belief in the Šafawid cause itself. Due to the growing power of Ḡunaid at Ardabil Ḡahān-šāh was "afraid to lose his own throne"¹, and asked him to leave the city, whereby the Šafawid leader proceeded west towards Diyār-Bakr and Uzūn Ḥasan welcomed him. Later after defeating Ḡahān-šāh, Uzūn Ḥasan re-instated Ḡunaid in the seat of his ancestors.

Thus Uzūn Ḥasan, the better diplomat, reached an accommodation with the Šūfī Order although his orthodox Sunni beliefs would certainly have disapproved of the new leaders' extreme religious views². His son Sulṭān Ya'qūb kept the good relations with the Šafawids for as long as he possibly could, and it was only when the situation became quite untenable and the Šafawid leaders turned against Širwān that he intervened to stop them.

Following the death of Ḡunaid and Ḥaidar the Šafawid movement remained alive mainly through the intrinsic strength of the Order. The influential heads of the Turkmān tribes kept a watchful eye over Ḥaidar's three sons, 'Alī, Ismā'il and Ibrāhīm who were now banished to distant Ištāḥr in Fārs and kept there under custody. But the deteriorating political situation in Irān, Iraq, and Anatolia lent itself to the growth of the movement during the last decade of the fifteenth century. It was a period of weakening or merely "peaceful" regimes of rulers who were engaged in internecine succession strife, or who seemed either not too ambitious for new conquests or simply complacent with a feeling of their own adequacy at their opulent courts.

In the west, Mehmed II passed away in 886/1481, and for thirty years after him, i. e., during the reign of Sulṭān Bāyezid II, there were almost no conquests made by the Ottomans³. In fact, Bāyezid's reign was so "peaceful" that movements of a strongly religious-šī'ī character almost did away with the allegiance of Anatolia to the Ottoman dynasty⁴. Further, the internal situation in Turkey was exacerbated by the attempts of the Sulṭān's brother Prince Jem to capture the leadership. "As long as Djem was alive (he died in Europe under suspicious circumstances in 901/1495), Bāyezid could not take the risk of committing his forces irretrievably to a major enterprise either in the East or in the West."⁵ It is no surprise therefore that when a new conquering Sulṭān ascended the throne at Istanbul in the person of Selim I (1512-1520) the newly established Šafawid order in Tabriz suffered its first major defeat and was in real danger of extinction.

¹ Ḥwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb*, IV, 425; and Iskandar Munšī, *Tārīḥ*, I, 17.

² However, see the curious story in D. Ross, "The Anonymous history of Shāh Ismā'il", p. 253 ff., where the author of this chronicle tells of Šaiḥ Ḥaidar's dream in which he saw Ḥaḍrat-i 'Alī who directed him to make the *laḡ-i Ḥaidarī*. When Uzūn Ḥasan heard of this he ordered a cap for himself, "kissed it and placed it on his own head . . . (and) bade each of his children to do likewise". In an *'Arḍ-nāma* describing the review of the forces during the governorate of Sulṭān Ḥalīl son of Uzūn Ḥasan (who lost to his brother Ya'qūb), Dawwānī who was an eyewitness describes the march in front of the Sulṭān of "the Sayyids 'ulamā, and imāms with banners and drums of the sacred Imām-zāda Sayyid Aḥmad b. Imām Mūsā al-Riḍā (sic) . . ." See MINORSKY, "A Civil and Military Review in Fārs, in 881/1476", *BSOAS*, X (1940-43) 153-154.

³ On the "feeble and inglorious reign" of Bāyezid II see the Preface to S. N. FISHER, *The Foreign Relations of Turkey, 1481-1512*, p. 5.

⁴ This culminated in the revolt in Tekke under Šāh Qulī in 917/1511 during the last year of Bāyezid's reign. See FISHER, *op. cit.*, 90-102.

⁵ V. J. PARRY, "Bāyezid II", *EI*, new edition.

In the east, i. e., in the territories under Timūrid domination, the situation was much more chaotic and signs of weakness and complete disintegration were everywhere much in evidence. Sultān Abū Sa'id, the last effective Timūrid ruler in Māwarā'annahr, was defeated by Uzūn Ḥasan Aq-qoyunlu and died in 873/1468–69 leaving no united authority that could wield concerted strength either of defense or of exertion of power over the lost provinces in western Irān. His direct descendants ruled here and there¹, and were busy fighting among each other and against two new powers that were fast rising in the area: Bābur on the one hand, and the Ūzbeks on the other². One notable exception to this Timūrid melée was the illustrious court of Sultān Ḥusain Baiqarā at Herāt (872–911/1468–1506).

In "Irān" proper – if it is permissible to use such a term at this juncture – the state of the ruling Turkmān dynasty was so hopelessly weak as to be considered the immediate factor leading to the rise of effective Šafawid control under Šāh Ismā'il. Uzūn Ḥasan, the only possible contender for a united and integrated Irān, died in 882/1478 shortly after receiving a signal defeat at the hands of Mehmed II of Turkey³. The only strong successor after him was his son Sultān Ya'qūb who had an effective reign from 883/1478 to 896/1491. We have already seen how the timely intercession of this Sultān on the side of the Širwān-šāh put an end (though temporary) to Šafawid *gāzi* activity. It would be idle to argue that continued centralized strength on the part of the Aq-qoyunlu could have made the entire Šafawid movement rather impossible. Such speculation is indeed indefensible in view of the "doctrinal" strength of the Šafawid movement. However, instead of centralized authority we witness the greatest possible weakness among the Aq-qoyunlu during this period, i. e. from the death of Ya'qūb to the defeat of Alwand by Šāh Ismā'il at Šurūr in 907/1501, the date which marks the *hurūġ* of Šāh Ismā'il. This weakness, however, is so closely tied up with the affairs of the Šafawids during the period between Ḥaidar and Ismā'il that it will be best to discuss it with direct reference to them.

The Šafawid *dūdman* and the followers of the family remained an important factor in Aq-qoyunlu politics during the decade or more between Ḥaidar and Ismā'il. Sultān 'Alī Pādīšāh, Ismā'il's elder brother and head of the Order after Ḥaidar's death, helped (after the release of the three "princes" from their confinement at Ištāḥr) to settle a family succession struggle between two Aq-qoyunlu contenders. (Another such struggle by two other contenders was solved by partitioning the Aq-qoyunlu possessions between the two contenders when a certain *darwish* warned that "there would shortly come out of Gīlān a person who would . . . establish the faith of the Twelve Imāms, and restore law and order in the land of Irān."⁴) But he lost his life immediately afterwards fighting the men of the same Aq-qoyunlu contender whom he had helped. When his end was near, Sultān 'Alī "abdicated"⁵ in favor of his younger brother Ismā'il but not before making the prophecy: "Oh my brother! . . . The die of heaven has been

¹ For a quick look at Timūrid princes and their areas of rule see chart opposite p. 268 in LANE-POOLE, *Mohammadan Dynasties*.

² On this period (which lies outside the terms of reference of this chapter) see J. B. HARRISON, P. HARDY, and M. Fuad KÖPRÜLÜ, "Bābur" in *EI*, new edition.

³ In 878/1474, "This battle upset the cup of Uzūn Ḥasan's fortune, and for twenty or thirty years assured the safety of the Sultān's eastern frontier." BROWNE, *LHP*, III, 412–13, quoting from 'Abd ar-Rahmān Sheref Bey, *Tā'riḫ-i Devlet-i 'Alīyya*, p. 173.

⁴ Ross, *Anonymous*, 306.

⁵ It is not clear how "succession" was carried out among members of the Šafawid *dūdman*. Ḥwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb*, IV, 441, is graphic in his description:

وتاج و دستار خویش را بر فرق مبارک آنحضرت (یعنی شاه اسمعیل) نهاده.

Ḥasan-i Fasā'i in *Fārsnāma-yi Nāṣiri*, pt. 1, p. 87, in describing the succession from Šāh Šafī ad-Dīn to Ḥwāġa 'Alī uses the expression "*bar ḥasb-i naṣṣ-i waṣfiyat*", and when he speaks about the succession of Šāh Ibrāhīm (pp. 87–88), he says "*bi-ḥukm-i waṣfiyat-o-wilāyat-i 'ahd*". In the case of Ḥwāndamīr the whole

cast in your name, and before long you will come out of Gilān like a burning sun, and with your sword sweep infidelity from the face of the earth."¹

The political situation continued to deteriorate, and "when the Aq-qoyunlu state became weak", Qazwīnī states in *Lubb al-tawārīḥ*, "confusion reigned in the Iranian lands . . . and plunder and raids became prevalent, and the affairs of the world lost order and organization."² The chiefs among the Turkmān followers of the Order sensing this utterly disrupted state of affairs, "smuggled" the two remaining brothers, Ismā'il and Ibrāhīm, to safety in Gilān.³

In Gilān, the two Šafawid princes, Ismā'il and Ibrāhīm, were well-received. (After a few months Ibrāhīm either defected or went back to Ardabil as a hostage)⁴. The region (including Lāhiḡān) was *ṣī'i*⁵ and the relations between its rulers and the Aq-qoyunlu were not exactly friendly⁶. In any case, the Šūfī leaders took no chances, and Ismā'il was very carefully guarded⁷. The cause of the movement prospered very much along the southern shores of the Caspian so that when Ismā'il left Gilān he had followers from all over the area⁸.

While in Gilān Ismā'il was tutored by Maulānā Šams ad-Dīn Lāhiḡī with whom he read the Qur'ān and Persian and Arabic works⁹. There is no indication in the sources that Ismā'il studied any *ṣī'i* sciences with Lāhiḡī¹⁰.

thing could be simply stylistic; in Fasā'i's case the author appears to be using *ṣī'i* (*iṣnā'aṣarī*) terminology. But the problem requires further investigation.

¹ Ross, *Anonymous*, 262. 'Alī's death is here given as occurring in A. H. 900. *Ḥabīb as-siyar* gives A. H. 898.

² Qazwīnī, *Lubb al-tawārīḥ*, 240.

³ For the names of some of the Turkmān chiefs see Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tawārīḥ*, I, 6, and Iskandar Munāṣṣirī, *Tārīḥ*, I, 24. Ḥwāndamīr in *Ḥabīb*, IV, 441, refers to them as "*umarā-yi ṣūfiya*".

⁴ Ḥwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb*, IV, 442.

«پس از چند ماه سید ابراهیم خیال مراجعت فرموده تاج دوازده ترک حیدری را که شعار دودمان امامت و سروریت از سر برداشت و بدستور ترا که آتی فرینلو طاقیه بر تارک مبارک نهاده علم توجه بصوب اردبیل برانراشت».

⁵ Samarqandī, *Maṭla' as-sa'dain*, p. 1356 ff. He devotes a special section on Gilān and Lāhiḡān. Cf. Gannābī, *Tuḥfat al-adīb* (selections in B. DORN, IV, 468 ff.), and Šūstari, *Maḡālis*, 42 and 398.

⁶ Qazwīnī, *Lubb*, 225-26, and Ross, *Anonymous*, 280 and 295.

⁷ Rūmlū, *Aḥsan*, I, 29, tells that at one time when Ismā'il was in Ṭālīs, the chief of Ṭālīs was suspected of complicity with Farruḡ-yasār the Širwān-šāh. So when he came to call on Ismā'il the Turkmān chiefs were prepared to meet any eventuality.

⁸ Gaffārī, *Ḡahān-ārā*, 264; and MINORSKY, *A History of Sharwān and Darband*, 132 (based on Munāḡḡim-bāši, *Ḡāmi' ad-duwal*).

⁹ Rūmlū, *Aḥsan*, I, 9; Ross, *Anonymous*, 271 and 288; Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, 51 (who calls him "Qāḍī Šams ad-Dīn mu'allim"); and Munāṣṣirī, *Tārīḥ*, I, 26. (It could not be conclusively proven at this stage that Maulānā Šams ad-Dīn Lāhiḡī who was Ismā'il's tutor in Gilān is the same as Šams ad-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Gilānī, al-Lāhiḡī an-Nūrbahāšī, the commentator on Šabistari's *Guṣṣan-i rāz*. On this Lāhiḡī see: Šūstari, *Maḡālis*, 306-309; the long introduction (especially p. 82 ff.) by Kaiwān SAM'I of a recent edition of Lāhiḡī's *Maṣāliḥ al-i'ḡāz fi ṣarḥ Guṣṣan-i rāz*, Tehran 1337/1959; and H. CORBIN, *Terre Celeste* . . . , 181).

¹⁰ See for example 'Alī ibn Šams ad-Dīn ibn Ḥāḡī Ḥusain, *Tārīḥ-i Ḥānī* (880-920/1475-1514), edited B. DORN, II, 104:

«بعد از چند وقت لوح صافی ایشارا (یعنی شاه اسمعیل در گیلان) بنقوش علم وآداب فرض و سنت که شیعه ذاتی آن دودمان بود زینت داد و بوظایف سنت حسنه حقوق پدری مرعی داشت . . .»

But Cf. Nahrawālī, *Kitāb al-i'lām*, 233-34:

«وكان شاه اسمعیل فی لاهجان . . . وبلاد لاهجان فيها كثير من الفرق الضالة كالرافضة والحرورية واليزيدية وغيرهم فتعلم منهم شاه اسمعیل فی صغره مذهب الرافض فان آباءه كان شعارهم مذهب السنة السنية وكانوا مطيعين متقادين لسنة رسول الله . . . ولم يظهر الرافض غير شاه اسمعیل . . .»

and Qaramānī, *Aḥbār ad-duwal*, 344:

«... فخرج عند ذلك شاه اسمعیل وآتی الی لاهجان وكان بها شیعة من أحبباء والده فهيجوه وشيعوه وعلموه الرافض وعلموه بالنصر . . .»

Ismā'il and his men apparently watched closely over the internecine troubles between members of the Aq-qoyunlu dynasty. Perhaps spies carried reports about the situation; for only "When news about the confusion and civil strife in the state of the Sultāns of the Aq-qoyunlu Turkmāns came to the ears of the Sulaymān of the time (i. e. Šāh Ismā'il), he decided on the opinion to move out of Gilān."¹

Ismā'il's passage from Gilān to Arzingān in the heart of the Anatolian plateau was like a triumphal march. From Lāhiḡān he camped first at Dailamān; then moved to Tārum. There he reviewed his forces². When danger seemed to be coming from a Bārānī chief one hundred men were appointed to guard him against any possible treachery³. Upon arrival at Ardabīl he was warned that Alwand (one of the last chiefs of the Aq-qoyunlu dynasty) might seek him out; so he left secretly and came to Tālīš country in the east along the Caspian⁴.

In the spring,⁵ Ismā'il returned to Ardabil but was advised by the leading Šūfis among the Turkmān chiefs to "send orders by swift messengers to the Šūfis in Rūm and Šām, and then betake himself to the frontiers of Arzingān; . . . for there he would be near his supporters who, on hearing of his arrival, would the more speedily assemble."⁶

On his way more supporters flocked under his banner and he was joined "by a regiment of the *šūfis* of Rūm"⁷, so that by 906 A. H. (which began end of July 1500 A. D.) he arrived in Arzingān where seven thousand of the *murīds* and *šūfis* of the Ustaḡlū, Šāmlū, Rūmlū, Tekellū, Dū l-Qadr, Afšār, Qāḡār, Warsāq, and the *šūfis* of Qarāḡadāḡ had assembled⁸.

It is perhaps to this period that we should ascribe the undated correspondence between Šāh Ismā'il and the Ottoman Sultān Bāyezid II preserved in Ferīdūn's *Munša'āt*⁹. Ismā'il wanted to impress on Bāyezid that he was really in a territory whose inhabitants were loyal to the Šafawid cause. Bāyezid, however, was worried about the men who were "crossing over" to Ismā'il's side, and pointed out that the untenable situation was becoming a drain on the military economy of eastern Anatolia. He asked that Ismā'il should send back anyone who crossed over. Ismā'il apparently disregarded these instructions and entered deep into Ottoman territory seeking out his enemies and promising he would not molest the inhabitants. Bāyezid became conciliatory and showed a spirit of cooperation. In the meantime, he exchanged correspondence with a Kurdish border amīr in order to ascertain the strength of Šāh Ismā'il and his followers and to find out whatever happened to the "*dawlat-i Bāyandariya*" (i. e. the Aq-qoyunlus)¹⁰. He also exchanged views with Qanšūh al-Ġaurī, the Mamlūk Sultān of Egypt, on "the man who appeared in the eastern lands."¹¹

¹ Iskandar Munšī, *Tārīḡ*, I, 26.

² Rūmlū, *Aḡsan al-tawārīḡ*, I, 26.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 31 ff.:

«یکی از اولاد میرزا جهان‌شاه (قراقربلو) موسوم سلطان حسین باران . . .»

This incident occurred in Gökçe Dengiz (گوجه دنگیز). See also GLASSEN, 176 ff.

⁴ Ross, *Anonymous*, 332-340.

⁵ Early in the year 1500. It is still A. H. 905.

⁶ Ross, *Anonymous*, 340. At this point of the text Denison Ross stops since *Ḥabīb as-siyar* and the *Anonymous History* of Šāh Ismā'il "begin to coincide very exactly".

⁷ Rūmlū, *Aḡsan*, I, 35.

⁸ Qazwīnī, *Lubb*, 240-41; and Rūmlū, *Aḡsan*, I, 41. (Munšī, *Tārīḡ*, I, 27, gives the figure "three to four thousand").

⁹ Ferīdūn, *Munša'āt*, I, 345-47.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 353-54.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 355-56. At this point, mention of the Šafawid movement begins to appear in the contemporary Egyptian sources. See for example Ibn Iyās, *Badd'i' az-ruḡūr*, IV, 39, 118, 123, 191, and 205.

Meanwhile at Arzingān, Šāh Ismā'il held a council of war and asked his Turkmān chiefs what course of action to follow. The decision came most naturally: to attack Širwān¹. The element of revenge was there, and the *gāzī* aspect of fighting against the Cherkes north of Širwān would whet the appetite of the Šūfī rank and file. In this way too, Ismā'il would avoid an uncertain clash with the Ottomans and a direct involvement with whatever strength the Aq-qoyunlu Alwand might muster. So he set out against Farruḥ-yasār the Širwān-Šāh who had placed a 1,000-tuman reward on his head².

The conquest of Širwān followed. Then Šāh Ismā'il headed further north and conquered Baku. Turning against the Aq-qoyunlu Alwand, he defeated him at Šurfūr-Nahḡawān. Then followed his *gūlūs* in Tabriz.

¹ Ḥwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb as-siyar*, IV, 457:

«آن پادشاه عالیجاه چنانچه مذکور شد در ارزنجان از قبول آرای مختلفه امرا و سرداران گردن پیچید و بالهام هاتف غیبی و تلقین ملقن لا ریبی یورش شروان را اختیار فرموده . . .»

Cf. Rūmlū, *Aḥsan*, I, 41-42, where the account of this war council is more elaborate

«چون خاقان اسکندر شان در ارزنجان زول اجلال فرمود . . . بعضی از ارکان دولت قاهره را طلب فرموده امر کرد که با سران سپاه مطارحه نمایند که بکدام طرف توجّه ی باید نمود . . .»

and where Šāh Ismā'il is said to have consulted (استخاره) with the Twelve Imāms.

² Ross, *Anonymous*, 336; Rūmlū, *Aḥsan at-tawārīḫ*, I, 28.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

From Šaiḥ Šafi ad-Dīn, the founder of the Šafawid Order at Ardabīl, to Šāh Ismā'il, the founder of the Šafawid state in Irān, are more than two and a half centuries.

The political history of this period was marked by a confused state of affairs throughout Irān, Iraq, and Anatolia during the Mongol period, the post-Mongol Ilḥānids, the successor states in Iraq and Irān, the *beylik* period in Anatolia, the Timūrid period, and finally the period of the Turkmān federations of the Qara-qoyunlu and the Aq-qoyunlu. The disorder, confusion, and weakness were slowly becoming more acute, so that by the time of the last Aq-qoyunlus, as the well-known Persian historian Yahyā Qazwīnī put it, "the affairs of the world lost order and organization."¹ The time was ripe for a change; and the change came with Šāh Ismā'il and the Šafawids.

The religious history of this period, on the other hand, was marked by an efflorescence of Šūfism and folk – Islamic ideas at the expense of traditional high Islam both in its Sunni synthesis and its *īfṇā'ašari* Šī'i variety. Folk Islam naturally knew no limitations, and we have seen how a *šūfī* order like that of Šaiḥ Šafi ad-Dīn of Ardabīl developed into an extreme *šī'i* movement of the *ḡulāt* type and gradually became the dominant power in Āḡdarbaigān and slowly assumed control of the rest of Irān. The line between Šūfism and Šī'ism was always difficult to draw; and as M. Henri CORBIN put it, "True Šī'ism is the same as Tašawwuf, and similarly, genuine and real Tašawwuf cannot be anything other than Šī'ism."²

Both politically and religiously, however, the people of Irān, Iraq, and Anatolia appear to have lost most if not all of their "freedoms" by the end of the fifteenth century; and the rise of the Šafawid state was in essence a successful attempt at imposing a political and religious system which was quite alien to the indigenous population of this part of the Muslim world. This conformity was already in existence in the Egyptian and Syrian areas under Mamlūk domination; it was also becoming so in the lands of the Ottomans; and the Šafawids, in this context, constitute the third major unifying power in the Middle East at the end of the fifteenth century. The Ūzbeks in Māwarā'annahr and the Moghuls in India can also be thought of in similar terms at this juncture in Islamic history.

However, it would be wrong to assume that the Šūfī Order of Ardabīl, which was chosen as a case study for this period, was alone in undergoing the changes described earlier in this study. References have been made to the popular movement of the Sarbadārs in Ḥurāsān as well as to the *mahdī* rising of the Muša'ša's in the marshlands of southern Iraq. But the list is far from being complete:

¹ Yahyā Qazwīnī, *Lubb al-tawārīḫ*, p. 240. See also above p. 80.

² H. CORBIN, "Siḥ guftār dar bāb-i tārlḡ-i ma'nawīyat-i Irān", *Maḡalla-yi Dāniškada-yi Adabiyāt*, Tehran, V (1337/1959), pp. 46–51, 52–57, and 58–63 (originally three radio talks translated from the French):

«تشیع واقعی همان تصوف است، و بنحو متقابل تصوف اصیل و راستین چیزی بجز تشیع نتوان بود».

- a) Šāh Ni'mat Allāh Walī of Kirmān (731-834/1330-1431), and "the two *sayyids* of Bam" – Šams ad-Dīn Ibrāhīm and Tāhīr ad-Dīn Muḥammad.
- b) Qāsim-i Anwār (757-837/1356-1433), to whom a passing reference was made in the course of this study, deserves a special investigation. His relations with the Šūfī Order at Ardabīl, as well as his activities in Māwarā'annahr and his "collusion" with the Ḥurūfis, have yet to be studied and explained.
- c) Muḥammad Nūrbahš (795-889/1392-1484) and the Nūrbahšīya order: its origins and later influence under the early Šafawids.
- d) Bahā' ad-Dīn Naqšband (718-791/1318-1388) and the Naqšbandīs who as a Sunnī order require a special treatment which should throw valuable light on the religious history of this period.
- e) The Ahl-i Ḥaqq and the role they played throughout the entire area during the fifteenth century.
- f) The Ḥurūfis, founded by Faḍl Allāh of Astarābād (put to death in 796/1393-94), and their activities both in Māwarā'annahr and in Anatolia.
- g) The Ismā'īlīs and the fate that befell them following the Alamūt episode.
- h) The Futuwwa and its influence in the cities of Anatolia and elsewhere.
- i) The Bektāšīya, Bairamiya, and several other *ṭariqas* in Anatolia during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.
- j) The early years of Sulṭān Ḥusain Baiqarā (whose reign began in Herāt in 873/1468), and the attempt to convert him to Šī'ism, and the influence of Ġāmī and Mir 'Alī Šīr Nawā'ī in bringing him back to the Sunnī fold.
- k) And finally, the line of the great Sunnī thinkers and scholars of this period: 'Aḍud ad-Dīn al-Īḡī (d. 756/1355), Sa'd ad-Dīn Taftazānī (d. 791/1389), as-Sayyid aš-Šarīf al-Ġurġānī (d. 816/1413), and Ġalāl ad-Dīn Dawwānī (d. 908/1502) – a study of whose works and times will no doubt reveal very valuable information regarding the development of Sunnism itself during this period.

These are only a few – perhaps the most important – of the movements and personalities that should be studied in order to understand more fully the religious developments in Irān, Iraq, and Anatolia (and to a certain extent in Māwarā'annahr) during the fifteenth century. For the Šūfī Order of Ardabīl, and the later Šafawid movement in Aḍarbaigān and Irān, are only one manifestation of the religious ferment that characterized the historical period between the coming of the Mongols and the rise of centralized government in Irān under Šāh Ismā'īl.

In the case of the Šafawids, the ferment began as a simple Šūfī *ṭariqa* under Šaiḥ Šafī ad-Dīn and his immediate successors, and grew into a militant and *ġāzī* movement under his fifteenth century descendants Ġunaid and Ḥaidar. This development also caused a change in the religious beliefs of the leaders of the Order and their devoted followers. From a humble beginning as the priestly heads of a contemplative Šūfī order, they announced their divinity as gods or sons of God – the supreme chiefs of a movement of warriors of the faith (*ġāzīs*) fighting the Christian "unbelievers" along the frontiers of Dār al-Islām. Religion was subordinated to political expediency.

This is perhaps where the Šafawid movement was basically different from all the other religious manifestations during the fifteenth century. The others all seem to have remained entrenched in religiosity, or else were lost in the labyrinths of religious doctrines at the high Islamic level or even at the popular level of folk-Islam. In either case (as high Muslim or Šūfī *ṭariqs*) they continued to serve the people well – and that no doubt was what they were intended to do. The leadership remained submerged, or was simply elevated to that of holiness,

sainthood, or mere reverence. With the Şafawids, it went a step further, a crucial step: the leadership, as it developed under Ġunaid and Ĥaidar and found its culmination with Šāh Ismā'il, demanded more than reverence. It demanded and received "worship", godly worship. The Şūfi followers "openly called Shaykh Junayd God (*ilāh*), and his son Son of God (*ibn- Allāh*) . . . In his praise they said: 'he is the Living One, there is no God but he'."¹ And Šāh Ismā'il "himself used to abide with God, but now he has appeared in the world."²

All this was subsequently toned down to what in Islam came nearest to "divinity", i. e. descent from the Twelve Imāms and through them from Ĥazrat-i 'Alī, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet. This was quite natural and should not have upset the great Dawwānī who, we are told, (with reference to the famous *ḥadīṭ* "He who dies without knowing the Imām of his time dies the death of an unbeliever"), one day asked his students: "Who is the Imām of the age?" When they replied that it was Šāh Ismā'il, Dawwānī became furious!³ It will be difficult to find out who, in Dawwānī's opinion, the Imām of the age was in Īrān at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

¹ See above, p. 73.

² See V. MINORSKY, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismā'il", *BSOAS*, X (1940-43), p. 1006a-1053a.

³ Ĥwānsarl, *Rauḍat al-ḡannāt*, p. 708.

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